

THE
SACRED CALENDAR
OF
PROPHECY
OR
A DISSERTATION ON THE PROPHECIES,
WHICH TRIAT OF THE
GRAND PERIOD OF SEVEN TIMES,
AND ESPECIALLY OF ITS SECOND MOIETY OR THE LATTER
THREE TIMES AND A HALF.

BY GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D.
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For the true account of *Times* in Scripture, we must have recourse to that SACRED CALENDAR and GREAT ALMANACK OF PROPHECY, the four kingdoms of Daniel: which are a prophetical chronology of *Times* measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms. Mede's *Apost.* of the Latter Times, chap. xii. Works, book iii. p. 651.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. & J. RIVINGTON;

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

1828.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,
•
ST. JOHN'S-SQUARE.

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APPENDIX.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SACRED CALENDAR OF PROPHECY. p. 487.

BOOK V.



AN EXPOSITION OF THE *LITTLE OR OPEN BOOK*
OF THE APOCALYPSE.

CHAPTER I.

RESPECTING THE PROPER DIVISION OF THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK.

ST. JOHN, having given the prophetic history of the Saracens and the Turks whom he describes as two great successive woes to the Roman Empire, and having brought down the chronology of the larger sealed book to the end of the second woe or to the autumn of the year 1697, now returns to the collateral history of the West during the period allotted to the sounding of the fifth and sixth trumpets, which (as we have seen) introduce the first and second woes. In other words, he returns to the year 604 or to the commencement of the latter three times and a half: for the trumpet, which called the Saracenic woe into action when the apostates were now come to the full, introduced, at its earliest blast, the fall of an eminent star from heaven, or (in unfigured language) revealed the man of sin in his character of the governing head and patron of the great demonolatrous Apostasy.

Thus returning to the collateral history of the Western Empire from the year 604, the Apostle, by way of avoiding that confusion which could not otherwise have been avoided, throws his whole pro-

phetic account of the Papal Tyranny and Usurpation, during the entire period of the latter 1260 years and under all the three woe-trumpets, into a sort of episode to his general series of predictions : and this episode he terms *a little book*, appending it as a codicil to his greater book of the Apocalypse.

The little book now before us, the contents of which will be found in the eleventh and twelfth and thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Revelation according to the vulgar arrangement, naturally divides itself into five sections : and these five sections, in point of chronology, all run parallel to each other, relating severally, though with some variety of circumstances, to the same period and to the same events ; so as to form jointly a complete history of the Papal Apostasy and of all the principal actors and sufferers in it.

I. The first section of the little book gives an account of the treading down of the holy city, by the Gentiles of the Apostasy, during the space of 42 prophetic months ; of the measuring certain faithful worshippers within the temple ; of the sackcloth prophesying of the two witnesses, during the same period of 42 months expressed as 1260 days ; of the slaughter of those two witnesses by the beast from the abyss ; of their lying dead in the midst of the great city during three prophetic days and a half ; of their revival at the end of those three days and a half ; of their ascent to heaven in a cloud ; and of the earthquake, which overthrows the tenth part of the great Roman city : it then declares, that

the second woe has passed away : and it finally announces the sounding of the seventh trumpet, which introduces the third woe, and which brings us down to the end of the latter 1260 years ¹.

In this section, we may observe, the beast from the abyss is barely mentioned : and no intimation is given, either what this beast is, or by whose instigation he acts, or whose minister he is; the prophet reserving these particulars for the two succeeding sections.

II. The second section of the little book opens to us the whole mystery of iniquity, so far as its original mover is concerned ².

We there learn, that the depression of the true Church of Christ, during a period of 1260 years, is the contrivance of that old serpent the devil ; who is represented under the image of a dragon with seven heads and ten horns, in order to shew us by the instrumentality of what visible earthly agent he was about to slay the two witnesses and to drive the woman into the wilderness.

III. The third section of the little book passes from the master to the servant : for it brings us acquainted with that minister of the dragon, who had already been represented as the murderer of the two witnesses ³.

It describes him under the symbol of a wild-beast, emerging from the sea or from the great

¹ Rev. xi.

² Rev. xii. •

³ Rev. xiii. 1—10.

abyss, and having seven heads and ten horns ; the very heads and horns, which the dragon induces him to use against the woman mentioned in the preceding section ¹.

IV. The fourth section of the little book teaches us, by whose instigation, as a second cause, the minister of the dragon, or the beast from the abyss, is induced to take up arms against the woman and the two witnesses ².

His instigator is another beast, quite distinct from himself, though very intimately connected with him : a beast, which comes up out of the earth or the geographical platform of the Roman Empire ; which has two horns like a lamb ; which speaks as a dragon ; and which exercises all the power of the first beast before him, not in a hostile but in a friendly manner, for he causes the whole earth to worship his colleague and supporter the first beast.

V. The fifth section of the little book describes

¹ The sea and the abyss mean the same thing : and the beast from the sea is palpably the same Power as the beast from the abyss. Compare Rev. xiii. 1, with Rev. xvii. 3, 8. The Seventy commonly use the word *ἄβυσσος* to express the Hebrew *תהום*, which denotes the mighty abyss of oceanic waters : and the classical writers employ the cognate words *βυσσός* and *βυθός* to describe the sea. Hence, as the seven-headed and ten-horned beast is indifferently said to come up from the sea and from the abyss, we may naturally conclude, that St. John uses the latter word in the same sense as the Seventy and the classical writers. See Parkhurst's Gr. Lexic. in voc. "*Ἀβυσσος*."

² Rev. xiii. 11—18.

the internal state of the true Church during the prevalence of the completed Apostasy ¹.

While pursuing this topic, it predicts the ultimate universal preaching of the everlasting Gospel, as synchronising generally with the fall of the mystic Babylon: and it divides those successive troubles, which take place at the time of the end or during the effusion of the seventh vial, into two grand classes, the harvest and the vintage of God's wrath; teaching us, that the winepress shall be trodden in a certain country, the space of which extends 1600 furlongs.

Having thus cleared the way by this prefatory statement, I shall proceed to consider at large the contents of the little open book, according as it naturally divides itself into five parallel sections: the vision of the two witnesses; the vision of the dragon and the woman; the vision of the ten-horned beast from the sea; the vision of the two-horned beast from the earth; and the vision of the Lamb with the hundred and forty and four thousand saints.

¹ Rev. xiv.

CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING THE FIRST SECTION OF THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK, OR THE VISION OF THE TWO WITNESSES.

THE first of the five parallel sections, into which the little open book divides itself, comprehends the vision of the two witnesses.

I. Of this vision, the first clause is couched in a strain of symbolisation evidently borrowed from the antecedent prophecies of Ezekiel and Zechariah¹.

And there was given to me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying; Rise, and measure the temple of God and the altar and them that worship therein. But the court, which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months².

In this first clause of the prophecy, three particulars are set forth to be considered: the holy city, viewed as comprehending the temple with its outer court; certain persons denominated *Gentiles*, to

¹ See Ezek. xl. xli. xlii. Zechar. ii. 1—5.

² Rev. xi. 1, 2.

whom the holy city and the outer court are given up during an allotted period of 42 months; and certain other persons, who are said to be measured while the Gentiles are contradistinctively left unmeasured, and who are described as faithfully worshipping God within the precincts of the temple.

1. The period, during which we are to look for the accomplishment of the present vision, is expressly specified to be the famous period of those three times and a half, which constitute the latter moiety of the seven times. For the holy city is to be trodden down by the Gentiles during a term of 42 prophetic months: and 42 prophetic months contain 1260 prophetic days: and 1260 prophetic days are equivalent to three prophetic times and a half or 1260 natural years.

Hence the holy city, here spoken of, cannot be the literal Jerusalem: because the treading down of *this* holy city is limited to 1260 natural years; whereas the treading down of the literal Jerusalem by the literal Gentiles has already continued more than seventeen centuries¹. But, if the holy city here spoken of cannot be the literal Jerusalem, it must of necessity be the mystical Jerusalem or the visible Church of Christ limited however (as the subject of the entire little book is limited) to the geographical platform of the Western Empire.

2. This mystical holy city is to be trodden under foot by certain mystical Gentiles, as the literal holy

¹ Luke xxi. 24.

city is trodden under foot by the literal Gentiles : for, if the holy city, in the present vision, be mystical ; the Gentiles, who tread it down, must no doubt be mystical also.

Now the identical period, during which the mystical holy city is trodden down by these mystical Gentiles, is that period mentioned by Daniel, during which the times and the laws and the saints are given into the hand of the Papal little horn. Hence, the treading down of the holy city by the Gentiles, and the oppression of the saints by the Papal little horn, are through out synchronical.

The present clause declares, therefore, that the visible Church of Christ in the Western Empire should be trodden down by certain persons figuratively denominated *Gentiles*, during the same period as that throughout which the times and the laws and the saints are given into the hand of the Papal little horn.

Such being the case, the Gentiles, who tread down the holy city, must plainly be the adherents of that western little horn, who obtains and exercises a synchronical sovereignty over the saints. Consequently, if the western little horn be the Papacy, the adherents of that little horn must be the adherents of the Papacy : for the whole of the little book, as its contents abundantly shew, relates altogether to the affairs of the western third part of the Roman Empire ; that is, to say, the affairs of the Latin Empire in the West.

The question then is, On what account, or with

what propriety, are the papalising Christians denominated *Gentiles* or *Pagans*?

To this question it is not difficult to give a satisfactory answer. The adherents of the man of sin are the main upholders of the great Apostasy : and the great Apostasy itself consisted in a lapse, from the primitive simplicity of the Gospel to the ancient demonolatrous Paganism of the Gentiles exhibited under a new appellation and tricked out in a slightly varied attire. Of ancient Paganism the basis was the worship of the demon-gods or hero-gods : and these personages were no other than the souls of illustrious mortals, canonised after death¹. Of the modern Apostasy in the Christian Church the basis is the worship of a new race of demon-gods or hero-gods, as they are expressly styled by St. Paul in his prophecy respecting this identical lapse from the genuine Gospel² : and these personages, like their predecessors of Greece and Rome and Egypt, are the souls of illustrious mortals canonised after their departure from this world. The resemblance, in short, is so strong between the ancient and the modern Gentiles, that, as it has been elaborately pointed out by a great expositor, so it could not fail to be noticed by a great historian³. Mr. Gibbon, simply stating a naked matter of fact, re-

¹ Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. lib. i. ver. 120—125. Cicér. Tusc. Disp. lib. i. § 12, 13. Hor. Epist. lib. i. epist. 1. ver. 5—12. See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book i. chap. 1.

² 1 Tim. iv. 1—3.

³ See Mede's Apost. of the Latter Times.

marks, that *the Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of Paganism. Their public and private vows were addressed to relics and images: the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs and saints and angels, the objects of popular veneration: and the collyridian heretics, like the Romanists of the middle ages, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess*¹.

These Gentiles or paganising Christians of the Apostasy, who tread down the holy city or the visible Church of the Western Empire during the period of the latter 1260 years, are also permitted to occupy the court that is without the temple: and, in consequence of that circumstance, the Apostle is directed to leave it out of his account of God's faithful worshippers and to refrain from measuring it.

For the right understanding of such imagery, we must recollect, that, in the arrangement of the literal temple of Jerusalem, the outer court was denominated *the court of the Gentiles*; because the Gentile proselytes of the gate, as they were called, were allowed only to worship within the precincts of that court, while they were excluded from entering into the inner court which was allotted to the genuine Israelites: and the reason of their exclusion was, because they remained uncircumcised and did not embrace the whole Law of Moses.

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 261.

Of this circumstance, the Apostle has, with divine art, availed himself in the management of his hieroglyphical painting. The new Gentiles of the Christian Apostasy, who pollute the holy city by treading it under foot, are allowed to occupy the outer court of the mystic temple, because they make an external profession of Christianity: but they are excluded from the temple itself and from its two inner courts, because they remain uncircumcised in heart and refuse to embrace the entire code of the Gospel.

3. The same artful allusion to the Hebrew ritual will easily enable us to ascertain the persons, who are intended by the measured worshippers of God at the altar and within the temple.

Under the Law, that sacred building was divided into two apartments; the sanctuary or holy place, and the penetralè or most holy place. Into the first of these apartments the priests were admitted: into the second no one entered save the high-priest, and he only on the day of expiation. The temple itself was surrounded by a court, where the altar of burnt offerings stood, and where the priests and levites exercised their ministry. This court of the priests was surrounded by another court; to which every Israelite, unless prevented by legal impurity, had a right to be admitted: and, when any of the people wished to offer up sacrifices, they were allowed to bring their victims into the inner court as far as a certain line of separation,

where they delivered them into the hand of the officiating priest to be offered up on their behalf. The whole was comprehended within a yet more spacious outer court, allotted, as we have already seen, to the gentile proselytes of the gate.

Thus it appears, that the temple and its two inner courts were appropriated to the house of Israel, as divided into the hierarchy and the laity; the high-priest himself standing preëminently apart from every inferior priest and levite, and enjoying the exclusive privilege of entering into the holy of holies or the very inmost penetralè itself.

Since, then, the worshippers of God at the altar and within the temple were the whole congregation of the literal Israel, as contradistinguished from the gentile proselytes of the gate: the measured worshippers of God at the mystic altar and within the mystic temple must plainly be the whole congregation of the mystic Israel, as contradistinguished from those mystic Gentiles to whom was given up the outer court. But the mystic Gentiles of the outer court are the subjects of the little Roman horn or the paganising adherents of the great demonolatrous Apostasy. Therefore the mystic Israelites, who worship God at the altar and within the temple, must undoubtedly be the whole congregation of the faithful throughout the Western Empire, who refused to pollute themselves with the modern gentile adoration of saints and images. These are unfeignedly subject to the rule of Christ,

the great mystic high-priest of their profession : these look for salvation through him alone : these are circumcised in heart : these cheerfully embrace the whole code of the Gospel : these, agreeably to their position in the hieroglyphical painting, constitute a Church within a Church, a faithful Church within an unfaithful Church. In short, these are the whole collective body of sincere worshippers, who live, at this time or at that time throughout the whole period of the latter 1260 years, in this country or in that country throughout the whole platform of the Western Empire.

These faithful worshippers, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, are said to be measured with a measuring rod ; while the Gentiles of the outer court are left unmeasured.

The measuring of the servants of God is equivalent to what is elsewhere termed *sealing them*¹. Each phrase alike denotes the taking an account of them : and it involves also the necessary idea of a separation ; that is to say, a separation of the sealed from the unsealed, of the measured from the unmeasured. The measured worshippers of God, during the latter three times and a half, keep up the spiritual succession of the faithful from the sealed worshippers of God previous to the commencement of that period. Now, as we have already found, the sealing of God's worshippers under the sixth apocalyptic seal took place in the

reign of Constantine: for, when the Emperor openly declared himself a convert to the Gospel, when Christianity became the established religion of the court and the Empire, and when the visible Church degenerated into secularity and superstition; then first, by the secession of the pious from a community which they could no longer deem the chaste spouse of Christ, was drawn a broad line of demarcation, between spiritual believers who abhorred the rapidly increasing demonolatry of the age, and secular believers who patronised and promoted it¹. Hence, the sealed worshippers of God before the commencement of the latter 1260 years, and the measured worshippers of God after the commencement of that period, jointly constitute (though, in the case of the measured worshippers, with a special reference to the Western Empire) the great collective body of the faithful, the real Israel of the Lord, from the days of Constantine, down to the expiration of the grand calendarian term of seven prophetic times².

¹ See above book iv. chap. 3. § II. 2. (1.) and compare book iii. chap. 2. § IV. 2. (3.)

² Compare Rev. vii. 3—8, with Rev. xi. 1. and Rev. xiv. 1—5. Mr. Mede, and those writers who have followed him, would make the times of the measured temple and altar and worshippers chronologically *precede* the times of the unmeasured court without the temple and of the holy city during its conculcation by the Gentiles: for they suppose the former times to be the times of the primitive Church, while they necessarily make the latter times to be the times of the great Apostasy. But such an arrangement strikes me, as being irreconcilable with the plain

II. The second clause of the vision describes the character of two very remarkable agents, denominated the two witnesses of Christ.

And I will give power unto my two witnesses : and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed with sackcloth. These are the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth. And, if any man wishes to injure them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies : and, if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy : and they have power over the waters

and obvious purport of the vision. The act of measuring, at the commencement of the 1260 days draws a broad line of distinction, between the temple and the altar and the spiritual worshippers on the one hand, and the outer court and the Gentiles on the other hand. Plainly, therefore, henceforth, the two typified classes of individuals stand separated from and opposed to each other : and, as such, I see not, how we can consistently view them, save as contemporaries.

The forcible arrangement of Mr. Mede (for I am constrained to deem it a force upon the text) evidently sprang from the necessary requirement of his general hypothesis, that the sealed book throughout treats of the affairs of the state, and that the open book throughout *synchronically* treats of the affairs of the Church. Having adopted this system, which rests (I think) upon no sufficient evidence, he found himself compelled to make the vision of the two witnesses commence from the apostolic age: and the only possible mode of effecting this was to adopt the arrangement, which I have ventured to designate as *forcible*.

*to turn them to blood, and power to smite the earth with every plague as often as they will*¹.

Such is the character of the two witnesses : our present business is to explain and apply the several particulars, which are here predicted.

1. St. John has recently told us, that the Gentiles of the Apóstasy are to tread the holy city under foot during the space of 42 prophetic months : he now tells us, that the two witnesses of God are to minister in sackcloth during the space of 1260 prophetic days. But 42 months and 1260 days express one and the same period. Therefore the treading down of the holy city by the Gentiles, and the sackcloth-ministration of the two witnesses, are synchronical.

Now the 1260 prophetic days, here alluded to, commenced, as we have seen, in the year 604, when the times and the laws and the saints were given into the hand of the Papal little horn, when the Apostasy was completed by the revelation of the man of sin, and immediately before the kingdom of fierce countenance or the Mohammedan little horn stood up in the East : whence, according to such an arrangement, they will terminate in the year 1864.

But, if this be the proper chronological arrangement of the 1260 prophetic days, then the period, comprehended between the years 604 and 1864, must be the period during which the two witnesses exercise their sackcloth-ministration. Here, there-

¹ Rev. xi. 3—6.

fore, we must look out for the agents intended by the two witnesses.

2. Such an inquiry, however, cannot be satisfactorily prosecuted, unless we can ascertain the precise idea which we ought to annex to the agents themselves. What does the prophet mean, abstractedly, by the two witnesses?

St. John does not leave us to answer this question by mere random conjecture: he himself supplies us with the true interpretation of his own phraseology. The two witnesses, he tells us, are the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks, which stand before the God of the earth.

We may observe, that the imagery here employed is still borrowed from the temple of Jerusalem, not only with strict poetical decorum and concinnity, but for the purpose also of specifically teaching us where we are to look for the two witnesses.

David informs us, that olive-trees were cultivated within the house of God, probably after the same manner as plants are introduced into a greenhouse: and we may collect from Zechariah, that the number of these trees was limited to two¹. There was also in the temple a golden candlestick, which Zechariah, like St. John, associates with the two olive-trees: and it is observable, that the prophet under the Law, no less than the prophet under the Gospel, employs the furniture in question as the mystic vehicle of some recondite infor-

¹ Psalm lii. 8. Zechar. iv. 3, 11, 12.

mation¹. Thus plainly is the present imagery borrowed from the furniture of the temple.

If, then, the two witnesses be respectively the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks; when we have ascertained the import of those two symbols, we shall of course know in the abstract what idea we ought to attach to the two witnesses: and, since the two literal olive-trees and the literal golden candlestick were placed in the literal temple; the two witnesses, represented by them, must obviously be sought within the precincts of the mystical temple.

Now an olive-tree and a candlestick are equally symbols of a Church: for we learn the proper interpretation of the former from Jeremiah and St. Paul, while the apocalyptic prophet himself gives us the true exposition of the latter². Since, there-

¹ Zechar. iv. 2, 11, 13, 14.

² Jerem. xi. 16. Rom. xi. 7—26. Rev. i. 12, 13, 20. Dr. Stonard, in his Commentary on Zechar. xiv, rightly pronounces an olive-tree and a candlestick to be each the symbol of a Church.

Of the propriety of this exposition of the symbols, there can, I think, be no doubt. St. John has borrowed his hieroglyphical machinery from the vision of Zechariah; and, in each prophecy alike, as congruity required, the olive-tree and the candlestick bear the same *abstract* signification.

It forms no part of my present plan to discuss the prediction of Zechariah: and very probably Dr. Stonard may be right in his applicatory exposition of it. I may, therefore, content myself with remarking, that, while, *in the concrete*, two entirely different duads of Churches may *possibly* form the respective

fore, an olive-tree and a candlestick are severally the hieroglyphic of a Church, and since the two witnesses are declared to be two olive-trees and two candlesticks; it will plainly follow, that the two witnesses can only be two Churches: and again, since the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks, alluded to in the imagery of the present vision, are

subjects of the two symbolically cognate visions of Zechariah and St. John; yet, *in the abstract*, Churches, and Churches *only*, are the matters respectively treated of by the two prophets. For, though, on the well established principles of hieroglyphical imagery, a prophet is not at liberty to assign any *other* sense to an olive-tree and a candlestick, than that of a Church; yet he may freely employ those symbols to represent *any* Church, which may be the special and definite subject of his prediction. The *abstract* import of the symbols is fixed and precise: the *concrete* application of them is open and unlimited.

I have insisted the more largely upon this point, because some very fanciful misapprehensions have been entertained respecting the nature and character of the two apocalyptic witnesses.

Thus, to deem them the two individual prophets Enoch and Elijah reappearing upon earth during the reign of a personal Antichrist of the tribe of Dan, which is the prevalent interpretation among the commentators of the Roman Church; or to identify them with the Old Testament and the New Testament, which has been the humour of some unskilful protestant expositors: to adopt *either* of these crude speculations is to make strange wild work with the symbolical language of prophecy.

In the *abstract*, the two apocalyptic witnesses can *only* be two Churches: *what* two particular Churches they may be in the *concrete*, is another question. On the latter point, commentators are at liberty to differ: on the former point, they enjoy no such liberty.

the olive-trees and the candlesticks of the literal temple; the two Churches, which they represent, must be sought within the precincts of the mystic temple or among that collective body of sincere worshippers who are placed in opposition to the unmeasured gentilising Christians of the Apostasy.

3. Having thus determined in the abstract the particular idea which we ought to entertain of the two witnesses, namely, that they are two Churches; we have next to inquire, in the concrete, *what* two Churches are specifically alluded to, as performing the actions, and as undergoing the troubles, of the two ecclesiastical witnesses.

(1.) From the prediction before us we learn, that, throughout the entire period of the latter 1260 years, while the outer court and the holy city were trodden down of the Gentiles, there should always be a considerable body of measured or faithful worshippers within the precincts of the allegorical temple, and that two whole Churches should be eminent and remarkable for synchronically prophesying in sackcloth and for bearing their testimony to the truth with a sound and enlightened conscience.

Now these two Churches are to be sought for within the precincts of the allegorical temple, no less than the collective body of the measured worshippers; for they are symbolised by the two olive-trees and the golden candlestick, which were within the precincts of the literal temple. But the mea-

sured worshippers are plainly the whole collective body of the faithful throughout the Western Roman Empire, during the allotted period of the latter 1260 years; being no other than the spiritual Israel of God, though with a geographical limitation to the Western Empire, the successors and continuators of those who are figuratively said to have been sealed out of all the twelve tribes during the period of the sixth seal and in the reign of Constantine. Hence the two Churches must be two distinct ecclesiastical communities, taken out of the great collective body of the measured worshippers, which should, eminently and in their corporate capacity *as* Churches, bear their testimony, though in a depressed and persecuted condition, throughout the entire period of the latter 1260 years.

What, then, are the two distinct Churches, which answer to this description? Where are we to find two Churches or two ecclesiastical communities, which, standing upon the geographical platform of the Western Roman Empire, have testified against the demonolatrous Apostasy, not at *this* time or at *that* time merely, like many individuals *before* the Reformation and like various national Churches *after* it, but *unintermittingly* during the *whole* period of the latter 1260 years?

To this question I reply, that exactly two Churches, and only two Churches, can be found, which correspond with such a description: the Church of the Vallenses and the Church of the Albigenses.

(2.) The origin of these two venerable Churches is buried in the most remote antiquity.

Misled, partly by an inversion of etymology, and partly by the circumstance of the Albigenses having taken refuge in the Alps after they had been dislodged from the south of France by the crusade of Simon de Montfort, Thuanus and others have supposed, that the Church of the Vallenses or (as the word was sometimes expressed) Valdenses derived its name from its alleged founder Peter Valdo of Lyons, who flourished in the twelfth century¹. But, in truth, as it is well remarked by Leger, Peter of Lyons, instead of *communicating*, himself *borrowed* his descriptive appellation of *le Vaudois* or *the Valdo* from the already existing and much more ancient Church of the Vallenses; while the Vallenses or Valdenses or Vaudois obviously received *their* name from the well known fact of their having immemorially inhabited the valleys of Piedmont².

¹ Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. vol. i. p. 221.

² Leger's Hist. des Vaud. p. 16, 41. This opinion is incidentally, though strongly, corroborated by the language of *the Noble Lesson*.

From that curious and venerable document we learn, that, in the twelfth century, or about the precise time when Peter of Lyons flourished, if any person were somewhat more strict than his neighbours in the profession and practice of religion, he was immediately called a *Vaudés*. La Nobla Leyçon, cited by Allix on the Church of Piedm. chap. xviii. p. 178.

The name, we see, was familiarly used as a term of reproach: just as, in the primitive times, the word *Christian* was similarly employed by the Pagans. Any person, remarkable for his

That neither the Vallensic nor the Albigensic Churches could have been founded by Peter of Lyons is fully established by the unanimous testimony to their high antiquity which is borne even by writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The *first* evidence, which I shall adduce, is the official testimony of an Inquisitor, now or lately

piety, was forthwith denominated a *Vaudés* or a *Valdensis*; and the annexation of the name marked him out as a fit subject for vulgar hatred and ecclesiastical persecution. If, then, the term was thus familiarly applied to *any* good man; we may be morally sure, that so eminent and conspicuous a character as Peter would not escape the dreaded opprobrium. Peter of Lyons, accordingly, has been handed down to posterity, under what was deemed the peculiarly reproachful appellation of *Peter the Valdo*.

In fact, so little did the old Vallenses dream of having received their name from this holy man, that, at least as early as the year 1212, they themselves derived it, in point of etymology, from the word *Vallis*. The appellation, indeed, they *spiritualised*, if I may use the expression; for, according to the testimony of Ebrard of Bethune who wrote in that year, they called themselves *Vallenses*, because they abode in the valley of tears; *Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneat*. Ebrard. Bath. Antiher. c. xxv: but still they derived their title, not from the name of Peter of Lyons who had then been dead only about twenty years, but from the word *Vallis* or *Valley*; and, when we recollect the peculiar locality of their ancient settlement, however naturally this persecuted race might be disposed to *spiritualise* their name with a reference to their circumstances, we can scarcely doubt that they *really* borrowed it, according to the just remark of their own historian Leger, from the long occupied literal valleys of Piedmont.

preserved in the public library of the University of Cambridge.

This person states, that, when in the thirteenth century the Albigenses were driven by the crusaders from the south of France, they fled to the valleys of the Alps. Here they joined themselves to a community professing the same religious sentiments as their own : which community is described by the Inquisitor, as having then existed, in the Piedmontese valleys of the diocese of Turin, FROM A PERIOD FAR BEYOND THE MEMORY OF MAN¹.

The community in question is clearly the Church of the Vallenses. But, if this community had been founded by Valdo in the twelfth century only about seventy or eighty years before the junction of the two Churches in the thirteenth century, certainly the Inquisitor could not have described it as reaching back to a period of deep and unknown antiquity. The testimony, therefore, of the Inquisitor, fully establishes the fact, that the Vallenses had *immemorially* existed as a Church even in the thirteenth century, and consequently that Peter Valdo could not have been their founder so recently as the latter part of the twelfth century : for Peter Valdo flourished from about the year 1160 to about the year 1180 ; and yet a Church, said to have been founded by him, is described by an ancient Inquisitor, as having already, in the earlier part of the

¹ Script. Inquis. anon. de Valdens. ex M.S. cod. G. Cantab. cited by Allix on the Church, of Piedm. p. 325. Oxon.

thirteenth century, existed from a period far beyond the memory of man.

It is true, that the Inquisitor imagines the name *Valdenses* to have been derived from the name of *Peter Valdo* : but then he ascribes this name, thus derived, not to the ancient Church in Piedmont, but to those of the Albigenses, who joined themselves to that Church when they had been expelled from the south of France by the crusaders of Simon de Montfort. In such a derivation, however, he is evinced, by chronology itself, to be mistaken. The constant opposition of the Vallenses to the Church of Rome had made them notorious, under this precise appellation, even in the earliest part of the twelfth century. Hence it is quite clear, that the name could not have been borrowed from Valdo : because, on the most liberal computation, he did not commence his Christian labours anterior to the year 1160 ¹.

¹ See Arnaud's Glorious Recovery, chap. i. p. 2. edited by Mr. Acland. The truth slips out even in the Inquisitor's own account. He tells us, that the name of *Valdenses* was borrowed from *Valdo* : but then he speaks of Valdo himself having taken up his abode in the *Val Grant*. It was from his occasional sojourn in the Valleys of Piedmont, and from his intercourse with the ancient Vallenses, that he himself borrowed his own name : and, when once the title of *le Vaudois* had been given to himself, his religious associates at Lyons, who were a branch of the Albigenses, would obviously be called *les Vaudois*. The name, however, in the first instance, was certainly imported from the Valleys of Piedmont into the town and neighbourhood of Lyons : for in those Valleys it had already existed long before the commencement of Valdo's ministry.

My *next* collection of testimonies respects the Church of the Albigenses prior to its final junction with that of the Vallenses : and it goes distinctly to prove the fact, that Valdo was no more the founder of the one Church than of the other ¹.

Valdo, as I have just remarked, is said to have flourished, as an active opponent to the doctrines of Rome, from about the year 1160 to about the year 1180. Now the fourth canon of the Council of Tours, which was holden in the year 1163 or precisely at the time when Valdo's exertions were only *commencing*, expressly declares the *then* well known high antiquity of the Albigenses. *In the parts of Thoulouse*, says this canon, *a damnable heresy LONG SINCE sprang up, which, gradually spreading itself like a cancer to the neighbouring places,*

¹ The above-mentioned Inquisitor represents Valdo, as the founder, not of the Vallensic church of Piedmont (which he states, in the way of a public and notorious fact, to have existed, in its alleged heretical state, *from a time beyond the memory of man*), but of the Albigensic Church of the south of France, the members of which he describes as being vulgarly called *Valdenses* from their asserted founder Valdo.

Ad causam eorum pauperum de Lugduno, quos vulgus *Valdenses* appellat, dictos a *Valdeo*, cive Lugdunensi, in loco dicto vulgariter *Val Grant* moram faciente; qui homo dives hæresiarcha primus hæresis sectæ *Valdensium* inventor fuit. Script. Inquis. anon. ut supra.

My collection of authorities will be found to prove, that the Albigenses of the south of France had existed as a Church long before Valdo was born. Whence, of course, it will follow, that Valdo, though an eminent and conspicuous *member* of their Church could not have been its *founder*.

*has now infected very many persons through Gascony and other provinces*¹. From this declaration it inevitably follows, that the Church of the Albigenses could not have been founded by Valdo : for, since the career of Valdo commenced about the year 1160, and since the Council of Tours sat in the year 1163 ; it is manifest, that the Council could not have described the Albigenses as having sprung up LONG AGO, had their own contemporary Valdo himself been the acknowledged *recent* founder of that Church.

If we descend a few years later, we shall find the same unvarying testimony borne to the high antiquity of the Church of the Albigenses.

The Archbishop of Narbonne, in his letter to the King of Arragon written in the year 1213, bitterly laments the prevalence of that heretical pest ; but confesses, at the same time, that it had been sown FROM REMOTE ANTIQUITY². This prelate wrote to his royal correspondent only thirty four years at

¹ Ut cuncti Albigensium hæreticorum consortium fugiant. In partibus Tolosæ damnanda hæresis dudum emersit, quæ paulatim more cancri ad vicina loca se diffundens, per Guasconiam et alias provincias, quamplurimos jam infecit. Concil. Turon. can. iv. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 1419.

² Cum enim in partibus istis pestis hæretica, ANTIQUITUS seminata, nostris partibus usque adeo succrevisset, quod cultus divinus ibidem haberetur omnino in opprobrium et derisum :—factum est, ut,—in parte maxima destructis adversitatibus et erroribus universis, terra, dudum a cultoribus horum dogmatum conculcata, demum diviño cultui assuescat. Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. 1. p. 86.

the utmost, perhaps less than thirty four years, after the death of Valdo : and yet we find him ascribing a very high antiquity to a Church, which was locally situated in his own immediate province, and with the familiar duration of which he could not but have been well acquainted. If the whole country knew that Church to have been founded by Valdo, it is utterly impossible that such language could ever have been employed by the Archbishop of Narbonne.

To the same purpose speaks also Louis IX of France, in his letter to the citizens of Narbonne, written in the year 1228, or fifteen years after the date of the last cited letter of the Archbishop to the King of Arragon. This canonised sovereign promises, that he will do his utmost to punish and to extirpate the heretics who had greatly multiplied in the southern parts of France : and, in perfect accordance with the Council of Tours and the Archbishop of Narbonne, he describes those heretics, as having now poured forth their venom DURING A LONG PERIOD OF TIME ¹.

From such concurrent testimonies, nothing, I think, can be more demonstratively certain, than

¹ Quia hæretici LONGO TEMPORE virus suum in vestris partibus effuderunt, Ecclesiam matrem nostram multipliciter maculantes ; ad ipsorum extirpationem statuimus, quod hæretici, qui a fide catholica deviant, quocunque nomine censeantur, postquam fuerint de hæresi per episcopum loci, vel per aliam ecclesiasticam personam quæ potestatem habeat, condemnati, indilatè animadversione debita puniantur. Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. 1. p. 423.

the high antiquity of the Albigenſic Church even during the miniſtry of Peter Valdo himſelf. Whence, by the very neceſſity of chronology, it plainly follows, that that holy man, however active and uſeful in his generation, could not have been its founder.

My *third* testimony is that of the Inquiſitor-General Reinerius Saccho, once himſelf a Valleniſian, and afterward an apoſtatic perſecutor of his former brethren : and this testimony, which was given in the middle of the thirteenth century ſubſequent to the final union of the two Churches in the valleys of Piedmont, relates, I apprehend, to the joint antiquity of them both.

Reinerius, the apoſtate perſecutor in queſtion, who could not but have been well acquainted with the hiſtory of his former aſſociates, and who as an Inquiſitor-General could have had no poſſible object in aſcribing to them a fictitious diuturnity, ſtates expreſſly, that one of the three cauſes, which rendered the Valleniſes more dangerous to the Church of Rome than any other ſect, was THEIR MUCH HIGHER DEGREE OF ANTIQUITY ¹.

Now Reinerius flouriſhed not more than about ſeventy or eighty years after the time of Peter Valdo. Hence, both from that circumſtance and from the circumſtance of having been once himſelf a Valleniſian, the renegade muſt have known to a cer-

¹ Prima eſt, quia eſt diuturnior: aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylveſtri; aliqui, a tempore Apoſtolorum. Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv. p. 54.

tainty, whether Valdo was, or was not, the founder of the Valdensic Churches. Such being the case, if Valdo were indeed their founder, Reinerius could not possibly have described the Valdenses, as being more dangerous to the Church of Rome than any other sect on the specific ground of *their higher antiquity* : for it were absurd to talk of the high antiquity of a sect, an antiquity confessedly *superior* to that of any other known sect ; if, all the while, this sect had not been in existence more than about seventy or eighty years, and if every person were fully aware that it had been founded by Peter Valdo of Lyons. Yet this is the language employed by Reinerius. Therefore, I think, it indisputably follows, that Peter Valdo could not have been the founder of the united Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses.

The evidence, which I have now adduced, distinctly proves, not only that the Vallenses and the Albigenses existed anterior to Peter of Lyons ; but likewise that, at the time of his appearance in the latter end of the twelfth century, they were *already* considered as two communities of VERY HIGH ANTIQUITY. Hence it follows, that, even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Vallensic and the Albigensic Churches were so ancient, that their remote commencement was placed, by their inquisitive enemies themselves, far BEYOND THE MEMORY OF MAN. The best-informed Romanists of that period pretended not to affix any certain date to their origination. They were unable to pitch upon any specific

time, when these venerable Churches existed not. All, that they certainly knew, was, that *they had flourished long since*, that *they were far more ancient than any mere modern sects*, that *they had visibly existed from a time beyond the utmost memory of man*.

This, then, is the important fact, which has now been ascertained : and its obvious consequence is, that no account or theory of the rise of the two Churches, which contradicts our well ascertained fact, can for a moment be admitted¹.

¹ Archbishop Usher thinks, that the Albigenses of France were originally a scion from the Vallenses of Piedmont : and, in support of his opinion, he adduces the authorities of Popliniere, Pilichdorf, and Thuanus ; who state, as an historical fact, that the Albigenses owe their origin to the Vallenses.

This, very possibly, may be true : but, if the Albigenses, in the first instance, were a scion of the Vallenses, they must have branched out from them many ages anterior to the twelfth century ; for, even in that century, they are said by the Council of Tours, to have LONG SINCE (dudum) existed in the regions of Thoulouse.

The fact is, the Vallenses and the Albigenses seem, from first to last, if we may so speak, to have been two and yet one : two witnesses bearing their testimony with one mouth (Rev. xi. 5.) and the single golden candlestick of the temple multiplying itself into two candlesticks. If, as Usher thinks, the Albigenses became a distinct Church by branching out from the Vallenses ; the two finally became one, when the Albigenses, expelled from France by the crusaders in the thirteenth century, joined and were absorbed by their ancient parent Church in Piedmont. The witnesses are two : but their testimony, whether they be ecclesiastically distinct or ecclesiastically combined, is still one.

Now, since the Romanists are constrained to acknowledge their own ignorance in regard to the origin of the two Churches ; and since those among them, who had the best means of information, will only venture to say, that these heretical communities had, in the twelfth century, already existed from a period far beyond the memory of man : I see not what more unexceptionable testimony we can resort to, than that of the two ancient Churches themselves.

They, then, constantly asserted, we are told, from the twelfth century down to the sixteenth, that, when the Emperor Constantine, in the days of Pope Sylvester, corrupted the Church by the magnitude of his donations, one of the companions of that prelate, anticipating the apostasy of which he then beheld the commencement, withdrew himself from the communion of the Roman Pontiff. He was joined by several persons, who held the same primitive sentiments as himself, and who wished to preserve unspotted the purity of the early Church. These pious men formed henceforth a separate society, out of which sprang the two Churches of the Vallenses in Piedmont and of the Albigenses in France. In a state of voluntary poverty and depression, their object was to preserve the simplicity of the apostolic faith : and the constant doctrine, both of themselves and of their successors, was ; that *the true Church of Christ no longer existed in the persons of Pope Sylvester and his adherents*, but that *from his time or from the earlier part of the fourth century the genuine*

*succession of the sincere Church (against which Christ had promised that the gates of hell should never prevail) had been preserved only among themselves*¹. Agreeably to such an opinion, they

¹ Their holding this opinion will readily account for the calumny of their enemies, that they maintained, contrary to the promise of Christ, that *the Church might altogether fail and become extinct*.

Instead of *teaching* any such doctrine, they expressly *rejected* it, with various other tenets falsely ascribed to them, as heretical and damnable. See Acland's Compend. of the Hist. of the Vaud. p. cxix. prefixed to Arnaud's Glorious Recovery.

What they taught was, that *Rome had ceased to be the true Church*, and that *the line of genuine succession was preserved in their own Society*. It was on this principle, that they justly refused to style their Church *a reformed Church*. Other Churches, by the light of Scripture, had found it necessary to retrace their steps and to seek again the old paths: but *they*, from the very first, had held primitive truth unchanged and uncorrupted.

That their religion is as primitive as their name is venerable, says the celebrated Henri Arnaud, *is attested even by their adversaries—Neither has their Church been ever reformed: whence arises its title of Evangelic. The Vaudois are, in fact, descended from those refugees from Italy, who, after St. Paul had there preached the Gospel, abandoned their beautiful country, and fled, like the woman mentioned in the Apocalypse, to these wild mountains, where they have to this day handed down the Gospel from father to son in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St. Paul.* Pref. to Glorious Recov. p. xiii, xiv.

Precisely the same claim of unbroken and uncorrupted descent from the apostolic age was preferred by the Churches of Piedmont, in their short confession of faith, published on occasion of the bloody massacres, perpetrated among them by the

contended, that the cross, that is to say, the superstitious and idolatrous use of the cross, is the mark of the apocalyptic wild-beast and the abomination standing in the holy place : and they additionally maintained, that Sylvester was the Antichrist, the son of perdition, who is foretold in the Epistles of St. Paul as extolling himself above every thing that is called God¹.

In all its grand outlines, I can perceive no reason why we should reject this narrative : for it fully accords, both with the acknowledged fact of the remote antiquity of the Vallenses, and with the inviolable habits and sentiments which they ever adopted and expressed². The Romanists themselves confess

papalists in the year 1655. At the close of it, they say : *We are ready to sign this divine truth with our blood, as our ancestors have done ever since the time of the Apostles, and more especially in the latter ages.* Acland's Compend. p. cxvii.

¹ Reiner. cont. hæret. c. iv, v. Pilichdorf. cont. Valdenses. c. iv. p. 779. Fragment. Pilich. p. 815, 816. Scissel. Tract. adv. Vald. fol. 5, cited by Bossuet. Script. Vetust. apud d'Acher. Spic. vol. xiii. cited by Allix.

² I am aware, that the Bishop of Meaux wishes to treat the narrative as a fable : but I can discover no reason save the very obvious one, that, if true, it at once destroys his favourite argument against the doctrines of Protestantism ; namely, *that which rests upon the alleged want of an unbroken ecclesiastical succession.* Now this succession will have been preserved by the two ancient Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, if, as they themselves invariably maintain, they derived their origin from the Apostles, and if, since the time of Pope Sylvester, they have existed in a regularly organised form, though separated from the corrupt Churches of the Eastern, and the Western Patriarchates. See Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 124. In the twelfth

the prevalence of the narrative in question, from the twelfth century down to the sixteenth : and, as we possess not the slightest proof that it *originated* in the twelfth century, we shall not easily account for its general and constant admission by the ancient Churches, except on the natural principle that it had been regularly handed down from the very time of their commencement. Hence, in all its grand outlines, I scruple not to receive the narrative now before us. The founder, indeed, of the Vallensic Churches, or rather, to speak more properly, the author of their secession from the now rapidly declining Church-General, may very possibly have never been a companion of Pope Sylvester : and I think it indisputable, that the allegation of his bearing the name of *Leon*, which in the sixteenth century is said to have formed a part of the narrative, is a modern figment, superadded by the vulgar for the evident purpose of accounting for the appellation of *Leonists*, which in the time of Reinarius was borne by the united Vallenses and Albigenses, and which has clearly been borrowed from the town of Lyons. But these matters are mere supplemental excrescences, which, without affecting the general purport of the narrative, may be admitted or rejected at pleasure. The naked unadorned fact, which I am willing, in short, to receive, is this.

and thirteenth centuries it was confessed, that they had *even then* existed from a period far beyond the memory of man : and they themselves declare, that they became a separate society in the earlier half of the fourth century.

In the time of Pope Sylvester, when an already declining Church was rendered yet more corrupt by the donations of the first Christian Emperor Constantine, the simple and uncontaminated inhabitants of the Alpine valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont, offended by the innovating superstition of the age, and disgusted (as the narrative states) at the avaricious secularity of Sylvester, quietly and unobtrusively, in their mountain fastnesses, withdrew themselves from the communion of a Church, which they deemed apostatic, and in the already gorgeous head of which they recognised the predicted features of St. Paul's man of sin.

This, from the evidence before me, I take to have been the naked fact : and thus were these two Churches prepared for their office of witnessing against corrupt superstition, from the completion of the Apostasy in the year 604¹.

¹ The fact, for which I contend, perfectly accords with the general character of mountaineers.

When, in the eighth century, the Roman world had fallen into the miserable superstition of image-worship, the person, who strenuously opposed this odious and unscriptural corruption, was the Emperor Leo Isauricus. In his unsophisticated native mountains, the practice had as yet obtained no footing : and Leo, at Constantinople, was shocked and surprised to find a system of idolatry, so utterly unlike that primitive and simple form of Christianity to which he and his fathers had been accustomed.

Such were the natural feelings of this Iconoclastic sovereign. Now, unless I greatly mistake, the unchanging character of the secluded Alpine mountaineers, is faithfully reflected in the simi-

(3.) The continuance of their career was agreeable to its commencement.

Their original seats were the valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont : but, as if by way of preparing for their predicted simultaneous slaughter, while the Vallenses still remained in the primeval habitations of their fathers ; the remnant of the Albigenses were, in the thirteenth century, compelled by the crusaders to emigrate from the land of their ancestors. Thus circumstanced, they sought refuge, as we learn from the direct testimony of an ancient contemporaneous Inquisitor, among their Vallensic brethren : and thus the two Churches became territorially and ecclesiastically united, so that the one could not be extirpated without the other ¹.

larly unchanging character of the mountaineers of Isauria. The inhabitants of the richer provinces of the Roman Empire gradually apostatised from the sincerity of the Gospel : the very character of their country was, in the hand of God, the secondary cause, which led the sequestered Vallenses to persevere in the unadulterated faith of the primitive Apostolic Church.

¹ The testimony, to *the emigration of the Albigenses* and to *their junction with the ancient Church of the Piedmontese Valleys*, is so important, in regard to the accomplishment of prophecy, that I shall give it at large in the precise words of the original.

Ad causam eorum pauperum de Lugduno, quos vulgus *Valdenses* appellat, dictos a Valdeo cive Lugdunensi, in loco dicto vulgariter *Val Grant* moram faciente, qui homo dives hæresiar-cha primus hæresis sectæ Valdensium inventor fuit, secundum Scripturam, *Qui bonis temporalibus renunciâs*, cœpit cum suis complicitibus vitam apostolicam cum cruce et paupertate ducere. Et, expectatis viris ecclesiasticis, multos sibi discipulos sociavit,

Here stationed and here blended together, two and yet one, they shot forth branches into various

qui inde dicti sunt *Paluperes de Lugduno*; qui, dicentes vivere sub obedientia apostolica, ab illa tamen se separantes pertinaciter, respondebant, cum redarguerentur, *Magis esse Deo obediendum quam hominibus*.

Fuerunt tandem et merito per militantem Ecclesiam damnati, sed non radicitus extirpati: quia, Lugduno fugientes ad ultimas Daphinatûs partes, se transferentes in Ebredunensi et Taurinensi diœcesibus in Alpibus et intra concava montium accessu difficilia, plures ibi ex ipsis habitaverunt; ubi paulatim, procurante satore zizanîæ, in copioso numero excreverunt, et demum palmites suos tristes in Liguriam, Italium, et ultra Romam in Apuliam, transmiserunt.

Et, quemadmodum Christus Redemptor noster discipulos suos binos mittebat ad prædicandum: sic et idiota et bestialis illius sectæ magniscius alios magistros inferiores per ipsum creatos et probatos, quos vulgo *Barbas* dicimus, ad docendum et prædicandum hujusmodi sectæ doctrinam, hinc inde binos mittere solitus fuit. Hi siquidem Barbæ creari solent per eorum supremum in civitate Aquilæ in regno Neapolitano: et, in eorum creatione, quædam solet fieri solennitas. Nam, in derisum Romani Pontificis, eis nomina mutantur cum ad magisterium hujusmodi afficiuntur.

Cujus siquidem damnatissimæ hæresis cultores, quibus viri et mulieres vallis Clusionis Taurenensis diœcesis, et omnes mares et fœminæ vallis Frayxineriæ, ac plures vallium Argenteriæ et Loysîæ Ebredunensis diœcesis, *a tanto tempore quod non est memoria hominum*, in contrarium fuerunt proni, plus quam centum numero ex ipsis sponte confessi fuerunt, sequentes articulos, contra fidem nostram, tenuerunt, tenentque, et immobiliter observant. Script. Inquis. cujusp. anonym. de Valdens. ex cod. M.S. in public. biblioth. Cantab. notat. G. cited by Allix on the Church of Piedm. p. 324, 325. Oxon.

Testimony to the same effect, though not so copious and precise, is given by the historian Thuanus.

countries long before the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Though incessantly persecuted, they were never eradicated: but, like the burning bush in the wilderness, they flourished in the very midst of fire and desolation. As little did they yield to the superstition which surrounded them. On the contrary, they ceased not to bear a faithful testimony against the demonolatry of the mystic Gentiles. According to the remarkable confession of Claude Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, *Many persons, at various times, have endeavoured to extirpate them: but, contrary to general expectation, they have still continued conquerors; or, at least, they have been wholly invincible*¹.

Hence, as no other Churches in the West can boast the same exemption from apostate idolatry during the *whole* term of the latter three times and a half, it will follow, that these two are the *ONLY* distinct and visible CHURCHES or CANDLESTICKS, which were NEVER so deceived and enslaved by the predicted man of sin. But, if the two Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses be the *ONLY* two Churches, which testified, in a low and afflicted

Petrus Valdis, locuples civis Lugdunensis, anno Christi circiter MCLXX, Valdensibus nomen dedit—Cum jam multos, sectatores exiguo tempore circa se haberet, eos tanquam discipulos, ad evangelium promulgandum, in omnes partes ablegat—Armis victi, in Provinciam apud nos et Gallicæ ditionis Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebrasque vitæ ac doctrinæ suæ iis in locis repperunt. Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. Vol. i. p. 221. Thuan. Præfat. ad Henric. IV. p. 7.

¹ Seissel. Tractat. adv. Valdens. fol. 1.

condition, against the Gentiles of the outer court, not merely during *this* broken period or *that* broken period, but during the WHOLE 1260 years of the completed Apostasy: they must plainly be the antitypes of the two apocalyptic candlesticks or olive-trees or witnesses. For, unless *they* be the antitypes in question, we shall vainly labour to produce *any* such antitypes: because no other Churches, which either have existed or do exist, have performed the required conditions of the prophecy; namely, that *they should have testified in sackcloth, against the corruptions of the demonolatrous Apostasy, during the ENTIRE term or from the very EARLIEST commencement of the latter three times and a half*¹.

¹ Thus no two of the reformed Churches, those, for instance, of England and Scotland, can be the two apocalyptic witnesses: because, though *all* the reformed Churches now testify against the corruptions of the Apostasy, they have not testified against it during the WHOLE period of the latter 1260 years; on the contrary, the testimony of no one of them commenced earlier than the sixteenth century.

In fact, their very title of *reformed* Churches excludes them from being, either severally or collectively, the witnesses of the Apocalypse: for such a title, by its very purport, acknowledges an antecedent *depravation*. The two witnesses, in order to accomplish their predicted task of testifying through the ENTIRE 1260 years, must *never* have been reformed, on the specific ground that they never *required* reformation: they must have been *invariably faithful* witnesses from the very COMMENCEMENT of that period. Now this is the precise character of the two Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, united since the thirteenth century in one communion. As Henri Arnaud

So far, then, as matters of this description are capable of proof, we may consider it as an established point, that the two apocalyptic witnesses are the two Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses.

4. Here, however, a very important objection presents itself, which must by no means be silently pretermitted.

The writers of the Roman school have not unfrequently attempted to blacken the characters of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses by representing them as tainted with the Manichèan heresy. To the full extent of this speculation the Bishop of Meaux has not thought it prudent to advance. In his judgment, the Albigenses, indeed, were Manichèans : but the Vallenses, however the Church of Rome might deem them to err on some points, were at least exempt from the stain of Manichèism ; and they are pronounced by him to be mainly a sort of enthusiastic separatists or a species of modern Donatists ¹.

Such is the opinion of the Bishop of Meaux : but, justly and appositely remarks : *Their Church has NEVER been REFORMED ; whence arises its title of EVANGELIC.* They disclaim the only secondary praise of being a *reformed* Church : they rightly vindicate to themselves the much higher and more venerable style of a Church which never *required* reformation. If, in short, the Vallenses and the Albigenses be not the two witnesses, I see not, where, consistently with the terms of the prophecy, we can find them.

¹ Hist. des Variat. des Eglises Protest. livr. xi. § 86.

in the distinction which he would set up; he is not borne out by the evidence of antiquity. Let the creed of the Vallenses have been what it may, at all events it was the SAME as the creed of the Albigen-ses. Hence, if the latter were Manichèans, so likewise were the former: and, if the former were *not* Manichèans (which the Bishop admits), so neither were the latter. .

THE IDENTITY of the tenets of these two ancient communities is established, if I mistake not, on the fullest testimony.

When the Albigenes, in the thirteenth century, were partly extirpated and partly driven out of the south of France by the crusade of de Montfort and the operations of the Inquisition, the chief part of the fugitives emigrated to the valleys of Piedmont, where by the Vallenses they were cordially received as brethren: and, henceforth, the two hitherto distinct Churches became inseparably united, the name of the Vaudois swallowing up the now obsolete name of the Albigeois.

I am inclined to deem this single *fact* more than a counterpoise for all the Bishop's very ingenious attempts to confound the *genuine* Albigenes with those Manichèans, to whom, through popish malevolence, the *name* of Albigenes may have been most improperly applied. The expelled Albigenes were received, AS BRETHREN, by the Vallenses, who are described as having *already* flourished in their native valleys *from a period far beyond the memory*

*of man*¹: and, henceforth, the two previously distinct Churches became UNITED. But, in the very nature and necessity of things, such a circumstance could never have happened, if the Albigenses were Manichèans, while the more orthodox Vallenses (as we are assured by the Bishop of Meaux) utterly abhorred Manichèism. Both ALIKE must clearly have been either *friendly* or *hostile* to the Manichèan system: for, otherwise, the Albigenses could never have been received as brethren by the Vallenses, nor could an union of the two Churches have been forthwith effected without the intervention of a single recorded doctrinal impediment.

Such is the necessary inference from this remarkable *fact*: and it is expressly corroborated by the unexceptionable contemporary evidence of Pope Innocent the third.

In the year 1198, this Pontiff addressed a letter to the Bishops of southern France and northern Spain where the persecuted and maligned Albigenses had many followers: and, in this letter, he declares, that the Vallenses and the Albigenses were equally heretics, because they maintained the *very same* doctrinal system¹.

The testimony of Pope Innocent *fully accounts*

¹ A tanto tempore quod non est memoria hominum—a tanto tempore cujus initii memoria hominum non existit, fuerunt et de præsentis sunt hæretici. Script. Inquis. de Vald. ex M.S. cod. G. Cantab.

² Epist. Innoc. III. cited by Allix on the Church of Piedm. chap. xx. p. 203. Oxon.

for our fact : the speculation of the Bishop of Meaux is *plainly irreconcilable* with it. Manichèans, or not Manichèans, the Vallenses and the Albigenses AGREED in doctrine. Their tenets were IDENTICAL. *Each* Church, or *neither* Church, was tainted with Manichèism.

What, then, *really* were the joint tenets of the Vallenses and the Albigenses? We cannot prosecute this inquiry in a better mode, than by successively hearing their own several declarations and the admissions of their very enemies themselves.

(1.) Let us begin with the Church of the Vallenses, which the Bishop of Meaux acknowledges to have been free from all taint of Manichèism.

There was lately extant, in the public library of the University of Cambridge, a manuscript Work of the old Vallensic Church entitled *The Noble Lesson* ¹.

This Work purports to have been composed some time toward the latter end of the twelfth century : for it states, that, in the day of its author, eleven centuries had elapsed, since St. John wrote the text which declares us to be in the last times ².

¹ The Manuscript, containing *La Nobla Leyçon*, has been stolen since the time of Dr. Allix : but, fortunately, the composition itself had been already copied into various histories of the Vallenses.

² 1 John ii. 18. John wrote his first Epistle some time toward the latter end of the first century." Consequently, eleven hundred years, reckoned from that epoch, will bring us to about the year 1170 or 1180, for the date of *the Noble Lesson*. This

Consequently, it sets forth the received doctrine of the Vallensic Church, as it stood in the latter part of the twelfth century; that is to say, about the year 1170 or 1180. Now, throughout the whole of this curious Work, not a trace of Manichæism can be found. On the contrary, the doctrines, avowed in it, are the precise doctrines of the protestant Churches, taken immediately from the Bible, and uncorrupted by the vain traditions and unauthorised glosses of innovating Popery.

An exactly similar account of the Vallensic doctrines is given, from an ancient manuscript, by the Centuriators of Magdeburg.

arrangement ascribes the Work to the precise period, during which Peter Valdo flourished: and I cannot help strongly suspecting, that that venerable man was *himself* the author of it. In a passage already alluded to, though the remark is couched in general terms, there seems to be no obscure reference to the particular fact of its supposed author having acquired the name of *Valdo* as a term of reproach.

If a man loves those who desire to love God and Jesus Christ; if he will neither curse, nor swear, nor lye, nor whore, nor kill, nor deceive his neighbour, nor avenge himself on his enemies: they presently say, that he is A VAUDES, and that he deserves to be punished; while, by lies and forgery, means are found to deprive him of what he has got by his lawful industry. In the mean time, such an one comforts himself in the hope and expectation of eternal salvation.

Such is precisely the language, which would naturally be used by the opulent merchant of Lyons, the *locuples civis Lugdunensis* (as Thuanus speaks); who, according to the testimony of the contemporary Inquisitor Guido of Perpignan, forsook all his goods for the sake of the Gospel, and who himself was contemptuously denominated *le Vaudès* or *le Valdo*.

In articles of faith, the authority of Holy Scripture is highest ; and, for that reason, it is the rule of judging : so that, whatsoever agreeth not with the word of God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided. The decrees of Fathers and Councils are so far to be approved, as they agree with the word of God. The reading and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures is free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the clergy : yea, and the writings of the prophets and apostles are to be read, rather than the comments of men¹. The sacraments of the Church of Christ

¹ Enlightened by the perusal of Holy Scripture, and clearly perceiving that the Bible and the Church of Rome were utterly at variance, Peter of Lyons, as Thuanus remarks, was anxious that the people should have the writings of the prophets and the apostles in their own tongue.

Is totum se evangelicæ professioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta populari lingua vertenda curaverat. Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16.

This attempt to circulate the Bible in the vulgar tongue seems to have produced the fourteenth canon of the Council of Toulouse, in the year 1229 ; which canon strictly inhibits the laity from possessing or reading the Scriptures.

Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris testamenti aut novi laici permittantur habere : nisi forte psalterium, vel breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Labb. Concil. vol. x. par 1. p. 430.

I need scarcely remark, that the Church of Rome is still equally characterised by a politic jealousy of, and a bitter hostility to, that most irreconcilable enemy of Popery, the Bible. The word of God is against Rome : and, therefore, on the strictest principles of reciprocity, Rome is against the word of God.

are two, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. The receiving in both kinds for priests and people was instituted by Christ. Masses are impious : and it is madness to say masses for the dead. Purgatory is an invention of men : for they, who believe, go into eternal life ; and they, who believe not, go into eternal damnation. The invoking and worshipping of dead saints is idolatry. The Church of Rome is the whore of Babylon. We must not obey the Pope and his Bishops, because they are the wolves of the Church¹. The Pope hath not the primacy over all the Churches of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords. That is the Church of Christ, which heareth the sincere word of Christ and useth the sacraments instituted by him, in what place soever it exist. Vows of celibacy are inventions of men. Monkeny is a stinking carcase. So many superstitious dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures, pilgrimages ; so many forced fastings, so many superfluous festivals ; those perpetual bellowings of unlearned men, and the observations of the other ceremonies manifestly hindering the teaching and learning of the word : are diabolical inventions. The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary².

But the most full and systematic account of the

¹ An allusion to Acts xx. 29.

² Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg. vol. iii. cent. XII. cap. 8. p. 548, 549.

doctrines, taught and maintained by the ancient Vallenses, will be found in their Confession of faith, preserved among the Cambridge manuscripts, and bearing the date of the year 1120.

We believe and firmly hold all that is contained in the twelve articles of the Symbol which is called The Apostles' Creed, accounting for heresy whatsoever is disagreeing and not consonant to the said twelve articles. We do believe, that there is one God; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We acknowledge, for the holy canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible: and we read the books called Apocryphal for the instruction of the people, but not to confirm the authority of the doctrine of the Church¹. The canonical books of Scripture teach this: that there is one God, almighty, all-wise, and all-good, who made all things by his goodness, for he formed Adam in his own image and likeness; but that, by envy of the devil and the disobedience of the said Adam, sin has entered into the world, and that we are all sinners in Adam and by Adam: that Christ was promised to our fathers who received the Law; that so, knowing by the Law their sin and unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, to satisfy for their sins, and to accomplish the Law by himself: that Christ was born, in the time appointed by God the Father; that is to say, in

¹ Here is inserted a list of the canonical books, exactly corresponding with our common English Bibles.

the time when all iniquity abounded ; and not for the cause of our good works, for all were sinners ; but that he might shew us grace and mercy as being faithful : that Christ is our life, truth, peace, and righteousness ; also our pastor, advocate, sacrifice, and priest ; who died for the salvation of all those that believe, and who is risen again for our justification. In like manner, we firmly hold, that there is no other mediator and advocate with God the Father, save only Jesus Christ ; and, as for the Virgin Mary, that she was holy, humble, and full of grace : and, in like manner, we do believe concerning all the other saints ; namely, that, being in heaven, they wait for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment. Also we believe, that, after this life, there are only two places ; the one for the saved, and the other for the damned : the which two places we call Paradise and Hell, absolutely denying that Purgatory, invented by Antichrist, and forged contrary to the truth. Also we have always accounted, as an unspeakable abomination before God, all those inventions of men, namely the feasts and vigils of saints, and the water which they call holy ; as likewise to abstain from flesh upon certain days, and the like ; but especially their masses. We esteem, for an abomination and as antichristian, all those human inventions, which are a trouble or prejudice to the liberty of the Spirit. We do believe, that the sacraments are signs of the holy thing or visible

forms of the invisible grace ; accounting it good, that the faithful sometimes use the said signs or visible forms, if it may be done. However, we believe and hold, that the above-said faithful may be saved without receiving the signs aforesaid, in case they have no place nor any means to use them. We acknowledge no other sacraments but Baptism and the Lord's Supper. We ought to honour the secular powers, by submission, ready obedience, and paying of tributes¹.

(2.) Such was the ancient Confession of the Vallenses : let us next hear the doctrines of the Albigenses, prior to their emigration from southern France and their final union with their Vallensic brethren of Piedmont.

In the year 1176, certain of the Albigenses were examined before the Bishop of Albi and other neigh-

¹ M. S. Cantab. Another Confession of faith was published by the suffering Church of the Vallenses, shortly after the massacres in the year 1655. The doctrine, which it sets forth, is precisely the same as that of their more ancient Confession of the year 1120. Their object in publishing it is thus stated by themselves.

Having learned that our adversaries, not content with persecuting us and robbing us of our possessions, endeavour, by most infamous calumnies, to render us odious, as well as our holy religion ; we feel ourselves bound, again shortly to declare our faith, to prove to all men the falsehood of these calumnies and the injustice of hating and persecuting us for so innocent, a doctrine. Confess. of faith in Acland's Compend. of the Hist. of the Vaud. p. cviii, cix.

Their enemies, no doubt, had been sedulously occupied in their ancient craft of calumniating them as Manichæans.

bouring prelates. These zealous ecclesiastics laboured hard to educe a semblance of Manichæism in the pretended heretics : with what emolument, will abundantly appear from the confession of faith, which they openly made before their judges, and which (together with the particulars of the whole conference) is recorded by Roger Hoveden.

We believe, that there is one only God, in three persons ; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost : that the Son of God hath taken our flesh upon him : that he was baptised in Jordan : that he fasted in the wilderness : that he hath preached our salvation : that he suffered, died, and was buried : that he descended into hell ; that he rose again on the third day ; that he ascended into heaven ; that he sent the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost ; that he shall come again at the day of judgment to judge both the quick and the dead ; and that all shall rise again. We know also, that, what we believe with our heart, we ought to confess with our mouth. We believe, that he is not saved who doth not eat the body of Jesus Christ ; and that the body of Jesus Christ is not consecrated but in the Church and by the priest, be he good or bad ; and that it is no better consecrated by a good than by a bad one. We believe also, that none can be saved but those who are baptised, and that little children are saved by baptism. We believe also, that man and wife are saved, though they be carnally joined ; and

*that every one must repent with his mouth and heart, and be baptised in the Church by a priest. And, if they could shew us more from the Gospel and Epistles, we would believe and own it*¹.

The merest tyro in theology will readily perceive, that this Confession of the Albigenses stands directly *opposed* to the leading tenets of Manichæism : and I am much mistaken, if several articles were not *designedly* introduced into it, on purpose to *meet* and *to remove* the calumny, with which, as they were well aware, they had been systematically assailed. In the present Confession, we hear, not the misrepresentations of interested bigotry, but the actual official declarations of the Albigenses themselves, couched in their own words, and delivered from their own mouths. Whence it will obviously follow, unless we be determined to charge upon them doctrines which they clearly disavow, that the Albigenses, like their brethren the Valenses, must be acquitted of all participation in the Manichæan heresy.

At another conference, holden about the same time before Bernard, Archbishop of Narbonne, the Albigenses added to the Confession of faith a protestation against various unscriptural errors patronised and enforced by the Church of Rome.

On this occasion, they rejected prayers for the ~~dead~~ and the unauthorised figment of a purgatory; avowed their disbelief in the novelty of Transub-

¹ Roger. Hoveden. Annal. in A. D. 1176.

stantiation ; and censured, as manifestly idolatrous, the worship of saints and images¹.

The tenets, in short, of the Albigenses were clearly the same as those of the Vallenses, whom the Bishop of Meaux himself exculpates from the charge of Manichæism : and the tenets of the Vallenses differed not, in any material and essential point, from those of the various reformed Churches which began to protest against the corruptions of Popery in the course of the sixteenth century.

(3.) We have now heard the Confessions of these two ancient and venerable Communions : let us finally attend to the admissions of their adversaries.

Of these, the most full and distinct is the statement of Reinerius Saccho, who was Inquisitor-General in the year 1254, and who well knew the real Vallensico-Albigensic faith because he had himself apostatised from it to the more lucrative superstition of the Church of Rome.

Among all the sects, which still are or have been, there is not any one more pernicious to the Church than that of the Leonists : and this for three reasons. The first is, because it is older than the rest : for some say, that it hath endured from the time of Pope Sylvester ; others, from the time of the Apostles. The second is, because it is more general : for there is scarce any country, wherein this sect is not. The third is, because, while all other sects beget horror in the

¹ Allix on the Albig. chap. xvi.

hearers by the outrageousness of their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists hath a great shew of piety : for they live justly before men, and BELIEVE ALL THINGS RIGHTLY CONCERNING GOD WITH ALL THE ARTICLES WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE CREED ; only they blaspheme the Church of Rome and the clergy, wherein the multitude of the luity is ready enough to believe them ¹.

This testimony I hold to be singularly valuable and important. At the precise time when Reinerius was decorated or disgraced with the persecuting functions of Inquisitor-General, the union of the Albigensic Church with the Vallensic Church, in the valleys of Piedmont, had recently been effected, through the operation of the crusade conducted by Simon de Montfort. In speaking, therefore, of the Leonists, Reinerius speaks *jointly* both of the Albigenses and of the Vallenses : for, at this time, the two Churches had become inseparably united and blended in one communion. That such

¹ Inter omnes sectas, quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesiæ quam Leonistarum : et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est diuturnior : aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri ; aliqui, a tempore Apostolorum. Secunda, quia est generalior : fere enim nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non est. Tertia, quia, cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant, hæc Leonistarum magnam habet speciem pietatis : eo quod coram hominibus justè vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur ; solummodo Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum, cui multitudo laicorum facilis est ad credendum. Reiner. cont. hæc. c. iv. p. 54.

is the case, is evident, both from the very necessity of the matter, and from the circumstance of his designating the reputed heretics by the appellation of *Leonists*. This name, in strictness of speech, was proper only to the Albigenses: for they received it from the town of Lyons, where they greatly abounded in the twelfth century, and whence they were familiarly denominated *Leonists* or *poor men of Lyons*. But, when they joined the Vallenses in Piedmont, the appellation was extended to the whole communion: and henceforth it became one of the many titles, by which these faithful witnesses were accustomed to be described. Under the name, therefore, of *Leonists*, Reinerius jointly and collectively speaks both of the Vallenses and of the Albigenses; certainly of the Albigenses quite as much, if not more, than of the Vallenses.

What, then, is the testimony, which the Inquisitor-General bears to the well-known faith of those who once had been his brethren?

THEY BELIEVE ALL THINGS RIGHTLY CONCERNING GOD, WITH ALL THE ARTICLES WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE CREED.

If such were their belief, they must, on the one hand, have held those doctrines respecting the nature and personality of the Deity, which the Church of Rome and all the sound reformed Churches alike deem indispensable scriptural verities: and, on the other hand, it is quite clear, that they could not have held the old Manichæan doctrine of two independent principles.

Yet, though *right believers*, the Leonists, we are assured, were *manifest heretics*.

The paradox of the *heresy* of these *right believers* will be solv'd, if we advert to the remaining testimony of Reinerius. They might, if it so pleased them, be perfectly orthodox in regard to the nature of God and to 'ALL the articles of the Creed ; and they might, furthermore, if it pleased them, live justly, and piously, and holily, and gravely, before men : but still they are manifest heretics. If we ask, how this can be ; Reinerius will inform us. *They blaspheme the Church of Rome and the Clergy : a point, in which the multitude of the laity is ready enough to give them credit.*

The grand secret of Vallensic heresy is now unfolded : and, doubtless, it is abundantly clear to the very meanest comprehension. Let a man's scriptural faith be ever so sound, and let his morals be ever so pure ; let him believe all things rightly concerning God, and let him receive every article which is contained in the creed : yet, if he reject the unscriptural corruptions of Rome, and if he disown the usurped authority of the Latin Pontiff, he stands forth a self-convicted heretic, justly, in the eyes of the Papalists, obnoxious to the last and most dreadful punishment.

(4.) With respect to the perpetual allegation of Manichæism against the much calumniated Albigenses, rather than any other distinct form of heretical pravity ; it may, I think, be accounted for without any great measure of difficulty.

That, in the earlier and middle ages, various tribes of Manichèans emigrated from the east into the west, seems, on the whole, to be established by at least very plausible evidence.* Some of the adherents of this ancient paganising form of Christianity appear to have planted themselves in the southern regions of France; where also, from time immemorial, the Albigenses had existed as a regularly organised ecclesiastical community. In the eyes of the Romanists, *both* were heretics: and, in matter of fact, *both* were to be found within the limits of the same country. To render the accusation plausible, nothing more was necessary: and, as it suited the policy of the Latin ecclesiastics to blacken the Albigenses, they scruple not, on all occasions, even in defiance of their own express testimony, to represent them as determined Manichèans. Traces of this fact perpetually meet us: and no where do they occur with greater copiousness, than in the writings of the Bishop of Meaux. This very learned, but most disingenuous, prelate brings evidence to prove, that various sects in the south of France were tainted with Manichèism, and that their ancestors had emigrated from the east. These sects he would identify with the Albigenses: and thus, by an easy process, the Albigenses, whom in point of doctrine he would carefully discriminate from the Vallenses, are suddenly transmuted into Manichèans.

Yet, how does the matter really stand, when disentangled from gross misrepresentation?

We have seen, on the fullest evidence, that, in point of doctrine, the Albigenses *symbolised* with the Vallenses, whom the Bishop himself is constrained to acquit of all tendency to Manichèism : and, if this be not sufficient, we have additionally seen the actual Confession of faith, made by the Albigenses themselves in open court, and honestly preserved in the writings even of their enemy Roger Hoveden. Now this ancient Confession is at once free from Manichèism, and perfectly accords in all its grand outlines with the parallel ancient Confession of the allowedly non-manichèan Vallenses. Hence, whatever Manichèan sects there may have been in the south of France, it is abundantly clear, from direct evidence, that the Albigenses ought not to be reckoned in their number.

We may regret, that the zeal of Bossuet, in what he deemed a good cause, did not permit him to attend to the respectable testimony of an eminent historian of his own country.

Mezeray distinctly specifies the fact, that the Albigenses were frequently *confounded* with certain contemporary sectaries who were tainted with Manichèism : but, at the same time, he very honestly and very carefully *acquits* them of the odious imputation so industriously brought against them by their unrelenting enemies.

Treating of the year 1163, he remarks, that *There were two sorts of heretics in the south of France. The one class, ignorant and dissolute, were a species of Manichèans : the other class*

*was more learned, and was altogether remote from such filthiness. This second class held much the same opinions as the Calvinists: and they were variously called Henricians and Valdenses. But the people ignorantly confounded them with the Manichèans, Cathari, or Bulgarians*¹.

It may be proper to remark, that those, whom we now call *Albigenses*, did not receive that name until after the session of the Council of Albi. Previous to that period, for whatever reason, they were known, among their enemies, by the appellation of *Henricians*: and, partly from the identity of their tenets with those of the Valdenses of Savoy, and partly from the circumstance of their subsequent union with them, they at length came to be distinguished also by the title of *Valdenses*². Hence, when Mezeray speaks of certain heretics in the south of France, who were *not* Manichèans, who held much the same opinions as the Calvinists³, and who were variously denominated *Henricians* and *Valdenses*; there can be no doubt, that he speaks of those, who, from the town of Albi, were at length more generally styled *Albigenses*.

The people, as we are informed by the historian, *ignorantly confounded* the Albigenses, who were

¹ Mezer. Abregé Chronol. Philippe Auguste. p. 657. Edit. Amsterd. 1674.

² Catel. Hist. Tolos. lib. ii. p. 121, 231, cited by Allix.

³ Avoient à peu près les mesmes opinions que ceux qu'on nomme aujourd' huy Calvinistes. Mezer. Abreg. Chronol. p. 657.

not Manichèans, with the Cathari or Bulgarians, who, in his opinion, *were* Manichèans.

Very probably the people, misled by the representations of the Latin priesthood, might, through a mixture of prejudice and ignorance, eagerly receive and eagerly propagate the confused account so justly censured by Mezeray : but what shall we say of the learned Bishop of Meaux, who has equally and systematically confounded the innocent Albigenses with the Manichèan heretics their contemporaries ? Has the Bishop done through *design*, what the vulgar, according to the historian, did through *sheer ignorance* ? The Bishop and the people have fallen into the self-same confusion with respect to the ancient Albigenses : and Mezeray, the Bishop's own contemporary, pronounces, without hesitation, that *ignorance* was the cause of the popular mistake. Now, most certainly, neither Mezeray, nor any other man, would dream of charging the eminently learned and the highly talented Bishop of Meaux with *ignorance*. Such a charge were too ridiculous to be sustained for a single moment. Yet has the great Bossuet strenuously maintained the identical error, into which, according to Mezeray, the people could have fallen only through *gross ignorance* : and it must be admitted, even by the Bishop's worst enemies, that a more dexterous piece of jesuitical management cannot easily be found, than that which is contained in the eleventh book of his *Variations of the Protestant Churches*.

I may add, that Gerebrard, in his *Chronology*, bears exactly the same testimony as Mezeray.

He states, that those ancient religionists in the south of France, who were variously denominated *Henricians* and *Albigenses*, were the theological parents of the more modern French Calvinists¹.

Now the Calvinists, whatever we may think of their leading peculiarity, most certainly neither are nor ever were Manichèans : and Mezeray expressly asserts, as he is fully borne out by direct evidence, that the Henricians or Albigenses of the twelfth century held much the same opinions as the Calvinists of his own time. Therefore, clearly, in the judgment of Gerebrard, the old Albigenses could not have been Manichèans².

¹ Gereb. Chronol. cited by Allix.

² The Bishop of Meaux somewhat whimsically demonstrates the Manichèism of the Albigenses from the fact, that they denominated the Pope *Antichrist*.

Certainly, this argument will swell the ranks of the Manichèans to a very unexpected amount : for, whether well or ill-founded, no opinion has prevailed more generally than this among all the protestant Churches. According to the learned Prelate's very original mode of reasoning, Bishop Warburton, who founded a Lecture for the express purpose of shewing the Pope to be Antichrist, must needs have been, *intus et in cute*, a thorough-paced disciple of Manes.

The most ridiculous part of the story is, that the old eastern Manichèans, who mainly borrowed their speculations from the theology of Persia, never once, so far as ecclesiastical history testifies, fatigued their heads about the Pope of Rome : nay, it may be doubted, whether, if acquainted with him, they would not have been his special *friends* and *admirers*. The Gnostics,

On the whole, I think, we may safely assert, that the Manichæism, alleged by their calumniators against the Vallenses and the Albigenses, rests upon the same interested and prejudiced evidence as the various unutterable abominations which were alleged by the Pagans against the primitive Christians. In each case, the sole testimony is that of enemies. Happily, however, this testimony is completely set aside, partly by the existing Confessions of those ancient witnesses to the truth, and partly by the acknowledgment of certain of their very enemies themselves.

5. We have now discovered two Churches, which, from the very commencement of the latter 1260 years down even to the present day, have stood in avowed and uncompromising opposition to the great Apostasy: it only remains to inquire, whether the prophetic character of the two witnesses will answer to the character of the two Churches.

(1.) *The two witnesses are the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks, which stand before the God of the earth.*

of whom the Manichæans were a branch, had the rare merit, through the agency of Marcus, of giving, I believe, the very earliest hint of the doctrine of Transubstantiation: and the same speculatists were also in the habit of worshipping, with devotion no less strenuous than that of the most orthodox Romanist, both pictures and images of Christ, which, somewhat unaccountably, were said to have been manufactured by Pontius Pilate. For these curious facts, see Iren. adv. hæ. lib.ⁱⁱⁱ i. c. 9. lib. i. c. 24. § 9. Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. hæ. 23.

As the symbols of the two witnesses were stationed in the precincts of the literal temple, they of course stood before the Lord whose visible presence was wont to be displayed between the Cherubim. Hence, as the two witnesses themselves are similarly stationed in the precincts of the mystic temple, they also of course stand in the immediate presence of the Lord of the temple.

Such imagery is doubtless employed to teach us, that the two witnessing Churches should be safe under the special protection of the Almighty : and the remarkable preservation of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, notwithstanding the various attempts to extirpate them, shews the exactness with which they have fulfilled this part of the prophecy.

(2.) *The two witnesses are said to prophesy during the allotted term of their ministration.*

In the New Testament, the word *prophesying* is frequently used as a mere synonymn of *preaching* or *expounding the Scripture*¹. Hence the *prophesying* of the two witnesses does not mean the *predicting of future events* ; a faculty, which the two testifying Churches neither claimed nor possessed : but it simply means *a discharge of the*

¹ See 1 Corinth. xiv. xi. 4, 5. 1 Thess. v. 20. Rom. xii. 6. Acts ii. 14.—37. iii. 18. iv. 10—13, 25—28. vii. 2—54. xxiv. 14. xxvi. 6—27. xxviii. 23. Luke xxiv. 25—27, 44—46. The use of the word in this sense probably originated from the frequent appeals made by the primitive teachers to the prophets who had prophesied of Christ.

Christian ministry by faithfully preaching the sincere doctrines of the Gospel.

Yet certainly, from the peculiar manner in which this characteristic is specified, we are led to expect, that their prophesying would be conducted upon a scale of great extensiveness; so that, in the midst of a dark and corrupt age, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear, the Gospel should at least be very widely and very luminously presented to their attention.

The whole of the present characteristic, even in its largest interpretation, eminently belongs to the Vallenses and the Albigenses. Not content with faithfully setting forth the pure doctrines of Christianity to those who were situated within their own immediate geographical limits, they acted the part of zealous missionaries throughout the whole of Europe: their disciples abounded in Calabria, Spain, Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and England: as the Council of Tours expresses it, their heresy diffused itself far and wide, after the manner of a cancer: and, as Reinerius complained in the thirteenth century, there was scarcely any country, in which they had not obtained a footing.

(3.) *The two witnesses are described, not as prophesying simply, but as prophesying in sackcloth.*

Such a garb very aptly represents their condition during the whole term of the latter 1260 years which has hitherto elapsed. Sackcloth is the scrip-

tural emblem of sorrow and trouble : to prophesy in sackcloth, therefore, will be to preach the truths of the Gospel in a sorrowful and depressed condition.

This description of the ministry of the two Churches does not require us to suppose, that they should never cease to be in a state of direct and murderous persecution. Sometimes the sword of open violence might be drawn, and sometimes it might be sheathed : but still they should be locally so situated as inevitably to exercise their ministry in a depressed condition, slighted and despised and discouraged, when not absolutely attacked and worried, by the governing powers.

Accordingly, from the commencement of the latter 1260 years down to the present time, such has been the lot of the Vallensic and Albigenic Churches. In England, in Denmark, in Sweden, and in other parts of Christendom, various branches of the measured worshippers in the figurative temple have long since been exempted from what is styled *prophesying in sackcloth* : for, in those regions, so far are God's servants from being depressed and discouraged in the exercise of their religion, that they constitute the dominant ecclesiastical Power of the State. But the remains of the Vallenses and the Albigenes, subjected as those communions have always been to a popish sovereign, and existing as they have always done in immediate contiguity to a dominant tyrannical Church, have never ceased to

bear their testimony in the sackcloth garb of affliction and discouragement ¹.

(4.) *Yet, if any man will hurt the two witnesses, fire proceeds out of their mouth and devours their enemies.*

This phraseology is borrowed from the language which God employs, when he speaks to the prophet Jeremiah. *I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood: and it shall devour them* ². Hence, as the two Churches are exhibited in the character of two prophets, the borrowed phraseology must be explained by the language from which it has been borrowed. The import, therefore, of the present clause is, that the two witnesses, by applying the prophecies of Scripture to their persecutors, should denounce against them to the uttermost the predicted vengeance of the Almighty upon the irreclaimable adherents of the Apostasy: even as the words of the Lord, in the

¹ One short respite, a brief exception from a general rule, they enjoyed under the government of Napoleon Buonapartè. Let that extraordinary man, to whom unhappily so much evil must be attributed, at least enjoy the just praise of *one* deed of justice and beneficence. Napoleon gave them equal civil rights: but the first act of the person, who was mainly restored to his ill-deserved throne by the arms of protestant England, was to throw them back to their ancient and familiar state of grinding oppression. As yet, the fated 1260 years have not expired: again therefore, in full accordance with the oracle, the united Vallensic and Albigenic Churches prophesy in sackcloth.

² Jerem. v. 14.

mouth of Jeremiah, devoured the apostate house of Israel, by announcing their desolation through the agency of the Romans¹.

Accordingly, as we have seen above, the Vallenses were strenuous in maintaining, that the corrupt Roman Church was the apocalyptic Babylonian harlot, and that the sovereign Pontiff himself was the man of sin. Whence, of necessity, they applied to their persecutors the various prophecies of utter extermination, which relate to those predicted enemies of Christ.

(5.) *The two witnesses are represented as having power, to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophecy, to turn the waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.*

In the figurative language of Scripture, the prophets are said to *do* what they only *announce*, and are described as being the *cause* of evils which in reality are the *consequence* of other men's misconduct². On this principle is framed the commission of the two witnesses. Their shutting of heaven, so that it rain not in the days of their prophecy (imagery borrowed from the circumstance of there being no rain upon the land of Canaan, for the mysterious space of three years and a half, in consequence of the punitive prayer of Elijah³), denotes the shut-

¹ Jerem. v. 14—19.

² See Isaiah vi. 10. Matt. xiii. 15. Acts xxviii. 27, and Bp. Newton's Dissert. diss. xxiv. vol. iii. p. 123.

³ James v. 17. 1 Kings xvii. 1.

ting up of the temple or the spiritual Church, so that the dew of God's word and spirit should not descend upon the apostate inhabitants of the Roman world: while their power of turning the waters into blood and of smiting the earth with diverse plagues means, that blood and slaughter and judicial desolation should be the consequence of men's slighting the admonitions of God's two mystical witnesses.

With regard to these particulars, the *first* respects the condition of the Roman world during the whole period of the latter three times and a half; for we read, that heaven or the temple or the spiritual Church is shut at the commencement of the period during which the two witnesses prophesy in sackcloth, and that (although it is opened again at the sounding of the seventh trumpet) no man can enter into it until the plagues of the vials are accomplished or (in other words) until the latter three times and a half shall have expired¹: and the *second* eminently relates to the season, during which the six first vials are poured out; for then it is, that the waters are turned into blood, and that the earth is smitten with every plague².

The whole of this prediction has been accurately fulfilled. Agreeably to the denunciations of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, who failed not to apply the leading prophecies of Daniel and St. John to the gross corruptions of Popery, the spiritual

¹ Compare Rev. xi. 6, with xi. 15, 19. xv. 5—8.

² Compare Rev. xi. 6, with xv. 1. xvi. 1—6.

heaven has been shut against them of the Apostasy during the entire period of the latter 1260 years which has hitherto evolved ; so that, for want of the kindly rain of the blessed Spirit, though the two witnesses in sackcloth have been prophesying far and wide throughout the greatest part of western Europe, still the ground has been parched up, and there has been a grievous famine of God's word in the land : and, as we shall hereafter see, there is abundant reason to believe, that several of the vials have been in action since the year 1789, smiting the earth with all plagues and turning the waters into blood.

III. The third clause of the vision foretells the figurative death and revival and ascension of the two witnesses, chronologically combining these events with a great earthquake and with the passing away of the second woe.

And, when they shall have finished their testimony¹, the wild-beast, that ascendeth out of the

¹ Gr. ὅταν τελέσωσι τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν. Mede, Whiston, Newton, Halifax, Woodhouse, Butt, Cuninghame, Bicheno, Frazer, Thruston, Hardy, and others, all agree to render this place, *When they shall be about to finish their testimony*, or *When they shall be finishing their testimony*: on the ground, as Mede (the original author, I believe, of the translation) argues, that τελέσωσι is the first aorist subjunctive ; and every grammarian knows, that the aorists subjunctive supply the place of the future which the subjunctive wanteth. Mede's Works, book iii. p. 596.

Such a version, however, notwithstanding its very general adoption on the high authority of Mede, is most certainly un-

abyss, shall make war against them, and overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the broad city which is the great one¹, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the peoples

tenable. My mind misgiving me on the subject, from the circumstance of my never having been able to find, either in the Greek Scriptures or in any classical author, an aorist subjunctive employed as Mr. Mede would employ it; I laid the matter, *purely as a grammatical question*, before a gentleman who is deservedly acknowledged to be one of the first Greek scholars of the age; and his reply was peremptory and decisive.

The laws of grammar, said my friend Mr. Tate, *inexorably forbid, that ὅταν τελέσωσι should be rendered*, When they shall be about to finish: *the phrase can only mean*, When they shall have finished. *It is true indeed, that the aorists subjunctive, constructed with ὅταν, bear a future sense: but then it is the future-past, shall have; not the future-perfect, shall be about. No instance can be produced from any Greek author, in which an aorist subjunctive, constructed with ὅταν, ever bears the sense of the future-perfect.*

More, Daubuz, and Lowman, would render the place, *While they shall be accomplishing*. But, in such a sense as this, ὅταν τελέσωσι, to say the least of it, is most unnatural and unusual Greek. I altogether doubt the very admissibility of the translation. Clearly, the proper and obvious rendering of ὅταν τελέσωσι is, *When they shall have finished*.

¹ Gr. ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης. This phrase has occasioned much discussion. The word πλατείας has been commonly deemed an adjective used substantively: and a question has then arisen, whether this πλατεία was within or without the city. See Mede's Com. Apoc. in loc. With Peirce and Whiston, I choose rather to consider it as an adjective agreeing with the substantive πόλεως. The common idea probably led to the insertion of τῇ before πόλεως in some copies.

and kindreds and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and send gifts one to another ; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth. And, after three days and a half, the spirit of life from God entered into them ; and they stood upon their feet : and great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them ; Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud : and their enemies beheld them. And, in that hour, there was a great earthquake ; and a tenth part of the city fell : and in the earthquake were slain seven thousand names of men : and the remnant were awe-struck, and gave glory to the God of heaven. The second woe is past : and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly ¹.

1. Before any application of this remarkable prophecy is attempted, several particulars, which it sets forth, must be considered in the abstract.

(1.) The first point to be determined is THE TIME, when the two witnesses are described as being slain.

Now this time is set forth by two very specific notations : for St. John predicts, that the witnesses shall be slain, *when*, on the one hand, *the period*

¹ Rev. xi. 7—14.

of the second woe shall have nearly expired, and when, on the other hand, they shall have finished their testimony.

Of these two notations, a comparative discussion will, if I mistake not, sufficiently determine the time appointed for the slaughter of the two witnesses.

Let us begin with the *first* of the two notations, which have been afforded to us by the terms of the prophecy. ‘

From this notation we learn, that the witnesses are slain *very shortly before the expiration of the second woe*. Hence it is evident, that, if we can ascertain the time when the second woe passes away, we shall have made a very close approximation to the time when the two witnesses are slain.

With respect, then, to the second woe, all our best commentators agree, that it is the woe brought upon Christendom by the Turks. Hence it will follow, that, very shortly before the Turks cease to be a woe to the Roman Empire, the two witnesses are to be slain and to lie dead and to revive and to ascend to the figurative heaven. But the woe of the Turcomannic horsemen commenced, when the four angels were let loose upon the Eastern Empire : and its duration is limited to the term of a prophetic day and month and year or to the term of 396 natural years and 3 months. The four angels, however, were let loose in the summer of the year 1301. Therefore the woe of the Turcomannic horsemen passed away in the autumn of the year 1697. Ac-

cordingly, as the voice of history bears witness, ever since the battle of Zenta which was fought at this precise epoch, the Turks have become weaker and weaker : and, instead of being any longer a marked and terrible woe which threatened the subjugation of all Christendom, they now feebly exist as a Power, at the sole will of their formidable neighbours ¹. Hence, as the second woe passed away in the year 1697, the slaughter of the two witnesses must have occurred almost immediately before that year : but, at all events, it cannot have occurred *after* it.

We may now proceed to the *second* of the two notations, from which we are taught to determine the chronological epoch of the slaughter of the two witnesses.

This second notation informs us, that the witnesses are to be slain, not only *immediately before the passing away of the second woe*, but likewise *when they shall have finished their testimony*.

Commentators, I believe, have generally supposed, that the *testimony* of the two witnesses is the same thing as their *prophesying in sackcloth*. But, as such an opinion is in itself untenable ; so, if I mistake not, it renders any consistent chronological arrangement of the slaughter of the two witnesses altogether impossible ².

¹ See above book iv. chap. 7. § II. 5.

² The slaughter of the two witnesses must inevitably be placed, either *before*, or *after*, the expiration of the latter 1260 years.

· That the *testimony* of the two witnesses cannot

I. Now, if we identify the *testimony* of the two witnesses with their *prophesying in sackcloth*, we shall find it impossible, consistently with the terms of the oracle, to place their slaughter, either *before* the expiration of the latter 1260 years, or *after* their expiration.

1. According to the common scheme of identification, the witnesses *bear their testimony*, or *prophesy in sackcloth*, throughout the *entire* period of the 1260 years. Therefore they cannot have *finished* their testimony, until the 1260 years shall have *expired*. Consequently, since they are not slain until they have *finished* their testimony, they cannot be slain *before* the expiration, but must be slain *after* the expiration, of the 1260 years.

2. Yet the witnesses are described, as being slain *anterior* to the passing away of the second woe : and the second woe indisputably and confessedly passes away, *before* the 1260 years expire. Therefore, according to *this* view of the question, the witnesses cannot be slain *after* the expiration, but must be slain *before* the expiration, of the 1260 years.

II. Thus we see, that the scheme of identifying the *testimony* of the witnesses with their *prophesying in sackcloth* brings out two directly opposite results. But two opposite results mutually destroy each other. Therefore, on such a scheme, it is impossible, consistently with the terms of the oracle, to place the slaughter of the witnesses, either *before* the expiration of the 1260 years, or *after* their expiration.

III. To exemplify this contradictoriness, we may note the arrangement adopted by Mr. Mede.

· That great commentator, perceiving that the slaughter of the witnesses *must*, according to the tenor of the vision, be placed *before* the expiration of the 1260 years, because it is said to occur *before* the passing away of the second woe : perceiving *this*, that great commentator readily determined such to be its proper chronological position.

But, then, he also perceived, that, according to the natural

be the same as their *prophesying in sackcloth*, I prove in manner following.

and obvious rendering of the Greek, the witnesses are not slain, until they have *finished* their testimony : and their *testimony* he identified with their *sackcloth-prophesying* ; which *sackcloth-prophesying* is not finished, until the expiration of the 1260 years.

Pressed with this difficulty, he would, for the purpose of obviating it, render the original Greek, not *When they shall have FINISHED their testimony*, but *When they shall be ABOUT TO FINISH their testimony* : and, by this expedient, he would enable himself to place the slaughter of the witnesses *before* the expiration of the 1260 years ; where, according to the tenor of the vision, it *ought* to be placed.

1. But the expedient before us serves only to make confusion still worse confounded.

For, in the first place, such a version is grammatically untenable : because the Greek is *incapable* of being rendered, *When they shall be ABOUT TO FINISH their testimony*.

And, in the second place, even if it *were* tenable, Mr. Mede would still have found it impossible to avoid a direct contradiction : for he placed, agreeably to his proposed translation, the slaughter of the witnesses *before* they have finished their testimony ; whereas, if *their testimony* and *their sackcloth-prophesying* be identical, they cannot be slain until *after* they have finished their testimony, because otherwise they will not prophesy in sackcloth during the *whole* period of the 1260 years, which yet they are expressly declared to do.

2. The whole of this inextricable perplexity arises from the common error of identifying the *testimony* of the two witnesses with their *prophesying in sackcloth* : and this same error, no doubt, has given rise to that untenable translation of the Greek original, by which Mr. Mede would solve a difficulty that meets him at the very outset ; for, except in order to serve a turn, I will venture to say, that no person would ever have thought of rendering the Greek Ὅταν τελέωσι τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν by the English *When they shall be about to finish their testimony*.

The two witnesses prophesy in sackcloth during the *whole* term of the latter 1260 years¹. Consequently, the latter 1260 years and the sackcloth-prophesying expire *synchronously*. But the two witnesses are slain *before* the expiration of the latter 1260 years : for they are slain *before* the passing away of the second woe² : and, as all commentators agree and as is fully manifest from the internal evidence afforded by the very texture of the Apocalypse itself, the latter 1260 years do not expire until *after* the passing away of the second woe³. They are, however, *also* slain, when they have finished their testimony. Therefore, since they are slain *before* the expiration of the latter 1260 years, and since they are likewise slain *when* they have finished their testimony ; their testimony must, doubtless, be finished, *before* the expiration of the latter 1260 years. But their sackcloth-prophesying does not terminate until the latter 1260 years expire : for the sackcloth-prophesying and the latter 1260 years are throughout strictly *synchronical*. Therefore, since the testimony of the two witnesses is finished *before* the expiration of the latter 1260 years, and

¹ Rev. xi. 3.

² Rev. xi. 7, 14.

³ The second woe passes away *before* the coming of the third woe. Rev. xi. 14. But, as all commentators with abundantly sufficient reason agree, the latter 1260 years expire some time *in the course* of the third woe. See above, book ii. chap. 4. § I. 2. II. 2. Therefore they expire *after* the passing away of the second woe.

since the sackcloth-propheſying of the two witneſſes terminates *with* the latter 1260 years : it is manifeſt, that the *testimony* and the *sackcloth-propheſying*, inasmuch as their reſpective terminations are *chronologically different*, cannot themſelves be *identical*.

On the ſtrength of this clear demonstration, I maintain, that the *testimony* of the two witneſſes is *not* the ſame as their *propheſying in ſackcloth*.

If, then, the *testimony* and the *sackcloth-propheſying* be *not* the ſame ; it will naturally and properly be asked, Wherein, do they *differ* from each other ?

To this queſtion I reply, that the two expreſſions convey two ideas, homogeneous indeed, but of very different degrees of intensity.

My view of the difference between them may be exhibited in manner following.

To *propheſy in ſackcloth* denotes to *preach the Goſpel in a deſpised and depressed condition*. But to *bear testimony to the bleſſed truths of the Goſpel* denotes to *suffer martyrdom for them*, to reſiſt even unto blood in behalf of them, to teach them in the face of abſolute and proper and murderous perſecution ¹.

As *propheſying in ſackcloth*, the two Churches are called *two prophets* : as *bearing their blood-*

¹ Gr. *μαρτυρίαν*, *martyrdom*. Comp. Rev. ii. 13. Thus Origen informs us, that, in the eccleſiaſtical ſenſe of the word, none were ſtyled *μαρτυρες*, ſave thoſe only who had ſealed the truth with their blood. Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 81.

stained testimony, they are called *two witnesses* or *two martyrs*. They prophesy in sackcloth, during the *whole* term of the latter 1260 years which expire not until the effusion of the seventh vial of the seventh trumpet: but they finish their testimony or their period of sanguinary martyrdom, *before* the expiration of the sixth trumpet and *before* the passing away of the second woe¹. When their *testimony*, not their *sackcloth-prophesying*, is finished; they are figuratively slain, they figuratively revive, and they figuratively ascend to heaven: but, as the allotted period of 1260 years still remains unexpired; they still, even in their figurative heaven, or, in ordinary language, in their state of political recognition and establishment, continue to prophesy in sackcloth. The purport of such a declaration may easily be understood. From the commencement of the latter 1260 years to the time of their figurative death, the two Churches, with such intervals of rest as they may occasionally enjoy, preach the Gospel in the midst of persecutions which involve *the bloody martyrdom* of many of their members: but, after they have ascended to heaven shortly before the expiration of the second woe, though they still continue to *prophesy in sack-*

¹ Rev. xi. 3—14. The two Churches are *prophets* during the whole period of their sackcloth-prophesying; which period is commensurate with the whole period of the 1260 years: but they are *martyrs* only during the time that they bear their testimony unto blood; which time expires *before* the passing away of the second woe.

cloth, they are no longer exposed to the miseries of *a persecution unto blood by the agency of fire and of sword*¹.

According, then, to this view of St. John's phraseology, the *second* chronological notation teaches us, that *the two witnesses should be politically slain, when the appointed term of their blood-stained martyrdom should have expired*: so that, although, after their figurative resurrection and ascension to heaven, they should still prophesy in sackcloth even to the very end of the latter 1260 years; yet they should henceforth no longer be subjected to that form of absolute and direct persecution, which, under the unhallowed pretext of purging out heresy, inflicts the punishment of death upon the persecuted.

On these principles, I conclude, that the two witnesses must have been slain and have lain dead and have revived very shortly before the year 1697.

(2.) The next point to be determined is THE NATURE OF THE DEATH, which the two witnesses are represented as undergoing.

Here we must recollect, that the two witnesses are no two individual men, but that they are two Churches. Whence, in the very nature of things,

¹ The only commentator, so far as I know, who has preserved this distinction between the *testimony* and the *sackcloth-prophecy*, is Mr. Fleming. See his Apoc. Key, p 44, 45. I marvel, that it should not have been more generally observed and acknowledged. It is, in truth, the very key to the chronological arrangement of the vision.

it will follow, that they can be subject to no death except such as a Church may be subject to. Now the death, to which a Church is subject, may be either moral or political : for, on the one hand, a Church may, by apostasy, cease to be a candlestick or a faithful dispenser of the light of divine truth ; and, on the other hand, a Church may, by the violence of persecution, be exterminated and blotted out, so that it shall cease to be visible upon the face of the earth. To such an ambiguity as this, the prophetic phraseology of *death* and *revival* is inherently liable : nor can the ambiguity be ever removed, save by the actual occurrence of the matter predicted ¹.

All, therefore, which can be determined in the abstract and without a recurrence to history, is this : that *the two Churches, designated by the two witnesses, shall experience a death either moral or political, when they shall have finished their testimony, and when the Turkish woe is on the eve of passing away.*

(3.) The third point to be determined is THE FOE, by whom the two witnesses are slain.

This hostile Power is simply styled *the wild-beast from the abyss* : but, upon examination, the wild-beast so described will prove to be the first wild-beast of the Apocalypse, or the wild-beast with seven heads and ten horns. For, in one place, we read, that the seven-headed and ten-horned

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § I., 5, 6, 7. II. 2. (1.)

wild-beast rose up from the sea : and, in another place, we read, that the seven-headed and ten-horned wild-beast ascended from the abyss¹. Hence it is evident, that the wild-beast from the abyss, who slays the two witnesses, is the same Power, as the seven-headed and ten-horned wild-beast who rises up from the sea. But this ten-horned beast from the sea, as all commentators agree, is substantially the same as Daniel's fourth beast which, similarly rises from the sea : and Daniel's fourth beast, as we have already seen, is the Roman Empire. Consequently, the two witnesses are to be slain by the Roman Empire, as existing in its apostatic state during the period of the latter 1260 years.

Such, as to the slayer of the two witnesses, is the whole that we specifically learn from the present oracle. But, since we know, that during the latter 1260 years the Roman Empire is in its divided condition, or (in the symbolical language of prophecy) that it exists under some one particular head and ten horns : we further know, from the very decorum of the hieroglyphic, that it must needs slay the witnesses through the instrumentality of some one or other of its various dominant members. *This* we clearly know : but the prediction now under consideration leaves us wholly in the dark as to the *particular* member, by the agency of which the wild-beast will slay the two witnesses. In the abstract, the member in question may be, either his

¹ Compare Rev. xi. 7. xiii. 1. and xvii. 7, 8.

imperial head, or some one of his ten regal horns. Nothing can here be determined before the event: yet we may naturally enough conclude, from the phraseology of the passage, that the *entire* wild-beast heartily approves of the evil deed perpetrated by his *particular* member.

(4.) The fourth point to be determined is THE PLACE, where the two witnesses are slain and lie dead and revive.

This is defined to be the broad city, which is the great one; the city, spiritually denominated *Sodom* and *Egypt*; the city, where our Lord was crucified.

So far as I can judge, Bishop Newton and Mr. Mann needlessly perplex themselves with elaborately attempting to shew, how the city of Rome may be styled *the city where our Lord suffered crucifixion*: for the fact is, that the city of Rome is no otherwise concerned with the title before us, than as a mere portion of the great apocalyptic city. Throughout the entire book of the Revelation, the great city or the mystic Babylon, which is represented in constant and direct opposition to the holy city or the pure Church, is certainly not the literal city, but the Empire, of Rome: the temporal Babylon being the temporal Empire, and the spiritual Babylon being the spiritual Empire coëxistent with its temporal associate. Such being the case, there is no need to seek for any mystical sense, in which our Lord may be said to have been crucified in the great city: he literally suffered within its precincts; for he was

put to death in Palestine, at that time a province of the Roman Empire.

The region, therefore, where the two witnesses are slain and lie dead and revive; is the Roman Empire : and this arrangement exactly corresponds with their locality, as set forth in the prediction itself. They are described, as prophesying in the presence of those new Gentiles, who tread the holy city underfoot during forty and two months. But these Gentiles, by the chronological correspondence of their allotted period, are shewn to be the subjects of the little Roman horn foretold by Daniel : for the Gentiles tread down the holy city during 42 prophetic months, while the saints are given up to the little Roman horn during three times and a half; and 42 months and three times and a half are one and the same period differently expressed. Therefore the stage, where the two witnesses prophesy and are slain and revive, must be the same region as that, where the little Roman horn tyrannises, and where the Gentiles tread down the holy city.

In what *particular* district of the Roman Empire the witnesses are to be slain, we are not specifically told : but common sense shews, that wherever are seated the two Churches which they are employed to shadow out, *there* obviously must the slaughter take place. Their dead bodies, or their scattered members, may lie exposed in various parts of the empire : but the death-blow must be struck

in the particular district, where the two Churches themselves are seated.

2. These preliminaries being settled, we shall now be prepared to ascertain the right application of the prophecy to matter of fact.

The prophecy in question treats of three leading particulars: the war against the two witnesses; the earthquake which overturns a tenth part of the great city; and the passing away of the second woe. These are described, as being very nearly synchronous: for the earthquake occurs in the same hour, or in the same season, with the war against the two witnesses; and the second woe passes away immediately afterward.

(1.) With respect to the war against the two witnesses, the following series of facts stands recorded by the voice of history.

After many centuries of bloody persecution had elapsed, during which the Vallenses and the Albigenes, both separately and jointly, bore a faithful testimony to the Gospel of Christ, the Duke of Savoy, at the instigation of the French King, issued an edict, by which, on pain of death, he forbade the exercise of their religion, banished all their pastors, and commanded their places of worship to be destroyed. This edict bore date, the 31st of January in the year 1686.

The effect, produced by a decree of such a description, may easily be anticipated. France and Savoy let loose their blood-hounds upon an innocent

and unoffending people: murders and rapes and every abomination followed: and, the valleys in a very short space of time having been wholly depopulated by the expulsion of their former inhabitants, the place of the fugitives was supplied by the colonising adherents of the dominant superstition.

Thus were the two ancient united Churches completely suppressed; a calamity, which at no former period had ever befallen them: yet, scattered far and wide, their fragments, though dissolved as a body corporate, still retained their separate existence. In the course of God's providence, they were not suffered to vanish utterly from off the face of the earth: they were not suffered to be lost and absorbed in the several communions of those protestant States, within whose territorial dominions they had taken refuge. On the contrary, though the two Churches were politically dissolved, their members were individually preserved from complete annihilation.

In this state they continued during the space of three years and a half: but, at the end of that period, they began once more to act in a body. Under the conduct of Henri Arnaud, eight hundred of the most intrepid among them, having assembled in the Swiss territory, secretly crossed the lake of Geneva, on the night of the 16th of August in the year 1689: and, entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, drove from their native valleys the intrusive Romanists, and recovered by main force their ancient possessions. In this extraordi-

nary enterprize so complete was their success, that, ere the month of April in the year 1690 had commenced, after a series of victories over the troops of France and Savoy, they had firmly established themselves in the seats of their ancestors.

Nor did their triumph terminate here. In the course of God's Providence events were so ordered, that the Duke of Savoy was led to desert the French interest; and, in consequence of this new political arrangement, by an edict dated the 4th of June in the year 1690, he recalled and reëstablished the remainder of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, granting to them henceforth, though with many vexatious restrictions, the exercise of the religion of their forefathers.

Thus were these two ancient united Churches built up anew, and solemnly established by an act of the civil power, in those identical valleys of Piedmont and Savoy, where the Albigenses, when driven out of the south of France by the crusade of the thirteenth century, had taken refuge among their brethren the Vallenses ¹.

The series of facts, here detailed from the voice of history, requires but little comment.

It has been pronounced, that the Vallenses and the Albigenses are the two witnessing Churches of the Apocalypse: because, although many pious individuals and several entire communities have pro-

¹ Whiston's *Essay on the Rev.* part iii. p. 238—241. Jones's *Hist. of the Christ. Church*, vol. ii. p. 406—444. Gilly's *Narrat.* p. 171—188. Arnaud's *Glorious Recov.* *passim*.

tested against the corruptions of the great Apostasy and have thence withdrawn themselves from the pale of the Roman Church ; yet these are the only two Churches or (in the figured language of prophecy) the only two candlesticks, which never submitted to the domination of the man of sin, which never therefore had need to reform themselves from his corrupt innovations, and which can be found discharging the office of faithful preachers of the truth from the very commencement of the appointed 1260 years down even to the present hour. Hence it may be expected, that the prediction relative to the slaughter and revival of the two apocalyptic witnesses will be accomplished in the two Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses : and here, accordingly, will be found its accomplishment.

We have ascertained, that the war against the two witnesses, which is specially alluded to in the prophecy, must have occurred *very shortly before* the year 1697, and that it cannot have occurred *later* than that year.

Agreeably to this conclusion, an edict was issued on the 31st of January in the year 1686, by the operation of which the two Churches were, in their corporate capacity, dissolved : or, in the prophetic style, the two witnesses were, on that day, slain by the wild-beast acting through the instrumentality of two of his then existing horns, France and Savoy.

But their lacerated members were not buried. On the contrary, they were not suffered to be absorbed by the several communions of those protes-

tant States, within whose dominions they had taken refuge. They were still preserved, in a separate and distinct and visible condition, on the surface of the earth or the Western Roman Empire, notwithstanding the popish inhabitants of that earth rejoiced over them as if irrecoverably dissolved and never more to be resuscitated.

Their unexpected resurrection, however, was near at hand. The two witnesses were slain, or the two Churches were dissolved, on the 31st day of January in the year 1686 : but, exactly three years and a half after this marked epoch, or on the 16th day of August in the year 1689, when the exiles in a body crossed the lake of Geneva and invaded Savoy ; the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet.

Victory attended their progress : and *great fear*, as history most remarkably and most literally bears testimony to the truth of prophecy, *fell upon those that saw them* ¹. For, notwithstanding the opposition made by the troops of France and Savoy, ere

¹ Very worthy of note is the language employed by their historian Boyer.

A dreadful fright from God, says he, fell upon their enemies : so that they had no courage nor conduct to defend themselves against the Vaudois ; who, without any trouble or resistance, chased them out of the valleys—So many happy successes make it clear, that the God of battles inspired them with the generous courage of returning into their own country to kindle again the candle of his word which the emissaries of Satan had extinguished there. Hist. of the Vaud. p. 226.

Compare this language with Rev. xi. 11. and xi. 4, 7.

the month of April in the year 1690 had elapsed, the two united Churches were again firmly placed in their ancient seats, restored from their allegorical death and instinct with new vitality.

Shortly after this extraordinary political resuscitation, prophecy teaches us, that they heard a great voice from the symbolical heaven, saying to them, *Come up hither*: and, accordingly, on the fourth day of June in the year 1690, the edict for their full and legal establishment as independent Churches was signed by the sovereign of the country.:

Yet, while they were thus legally established by the civil power as independent Churches; they were so established, not in a state of dominance and favour, but in a state of sorrow and depression as to themselves and with undisguised feelings of jealousy and dislike on the part of their enemies.

This circumstance is not a little remarkable: yet, without its actual occurrence, the general chronology of the prophecy would have failed. The two witnesses, notwithstanding their civil establishment at the close of the period allotted to their blood-stained testimony, are to prophesy in sackcloth or to preach the Gospel in an afflicted condition to the very end of the appointed 1260 years. If, therefore, they had been *dominantly* established as the reformed Church of England was; they would have *ceased* to prophesy in sackcloth, ere the 1260 years had expired: and thus, in the general

chronology of the prediction, there would have been a manifest failure ¹.

I have remarked, that, although the prophecy leaves the event to determine the particular head or horn by the agency of which the Roman wild-beast is to slay the two witnesses ; yet the phraseology of the passage seems to intimate very strongly, that the deed should be perpetrated with the entire assent and consent and approbation of the whole apostate Empire.

Accordingly, there perhaps never was a period

¹ This explanation of the prophecy, in its great outlines, has been given by Bishop Lloyd and Mr. Whiston : I say *in its great outlines* ; because so far as I can judge, they erroneously compute the three years and a half from the December of the year 1686 to the June of the year 1690. The same exposition has also been adopted by Mr. Jurieu. I may add, that the character of the two witnesses is claimed for the united Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses by the celebrated Henri Arnaud, who headed the troop which recovered their native valleys at the point of the sword. The *ground* of his claim is, that, *at the latter end of the seventeenth century, the two Churches had already contended with the Roman wild-beast for more than 1100 years ; which would make them to have prophesied in sackcloth from the epoch of any reasonable commencement of the three times and a half* : and the *establishment* of his claim is, that *it was at the end of three years and a half, the just time interpreted from the eastern and scriptural allegory of three days and a half, that, the Church of the Vaudois having been as it were dead, and its doctrines and services extinct in the valleys, its professors again entered on their native soil, and reëstablished the Gospel in its purity.* Pref. to the Glorious Recov. p. xxv.

more strongly marked by a systematic design to blot out all protestation against the manifold corruptions of the Latin Church, than the latter part of the seventeenth century.

In the year 1655, after an interval of rest from their numerous preceding trials had elapsed, a violent persecution of the united Vallenses and Albigenes commenced ; which lasted to what I deem the predicted attack, not merely against pious *individuals*, but against the very existence of the two witnessing Churches in their special capacity of *Churches* ¹.

Shortly afterward, a persecution of the reformed was set on foot in Poland ; which drove them out of that kingdom, and which scattered them through Transylvania and Hungary and Germany.

At the same time, immediately after the peace of the Pyrenees, another persecution began in France : and the diabolical project of utterly ruining the Protestants was contrived and undertaken by the court of Versailles.

In the year 1671, commenced the persecution of the Churches of Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, on the part of the House of Austria ; the consequence of which was an almost utter extinction of sound religion within the imperial territories.

In the year 1685, the king of England professed

¹ The edict, which produced the persecution of the year 1655, was styled *the bloody order of Gastaldo*. Acland's Compend. p. lx.

himself a Romanist : and, as the first step toward the introduction of Popery into his dominions, sent an embassy of congratulation to the See of Rome upon the union of England to the Papacy in the person of its regal head.

In the same year, 1685, the edict of Nantz was revoked by the French king : and the dogs of persecution were let slip upon his protestant subjects.

Lastly, after these several deeds had been performed as a sort of prologue to the excision of the two apocalyptic witnesses ; in the year 1686, the two ancient and then united Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses were dissolved or politically slain by the king of France and the Duke of Savoy.

Thus fearfully raged the wild-beast from the abyss during this period of unexampled danger to the cause of Protestantism.

But the present condition of the united Vallenses and Albigenses must be specially attended to, in order that we may observe the exact completion of the prophecy.

It is foretold, that the two witnessing Churches should prophesy in sackcloth throughout the *whole* period of the latter 1260 years : but a marked difference is made, between the character of their prophesying *anterior to their dissolution*, and the character of their prophesying *subsequent to their figurative resurrection*. During the *first* of these two terms, they are described as bearing a bloody

testimony to the truth; and, when they have finished their testimony or martyrdom, they are politically slain: but, during the *second* of these two terms, after they have been politically raised from the dead, though they still continue to prophesy in sackcloth (inasmuch as *both* the two terms are alike included within the period of the latter 1260 years), yet their station has now become the allegorical heaven of a legal recognition or establishment. Hence we collect, that, for a due completion of the prophecy, as their sackcloth-prophesying, *anterior to their dissolution*, is to be marked by persecution extending even to blood-stained martyrdom: so their sackcloth-prophesying, *subsequent to their revival*, is to be no longer accompanied by an arbitrary liability to the penalty of death for the sake of the Gospel; but is henceforth to be simply a prophesying in sackcloth or a preaching of genuine Christianity in a state of mere bloodless depression and discouragement.

Such as the prediction is, so has been the event. Anterior to the year 1686 when the two united Churches were politically slain, they were exposed to almost perpetual persecution for conscience sake, and numerous were their members who obtained the bloody crown of martyrdom: but, subsequent to their ascent to heaven or (in plain language) their recognised legal establishment in the year 1690, their testimony being now finished, they have no longer been called to seal the truth by the blood of their members; they have only preached the

Gospel in a state of contemptuous and afflicting and oppressive and discouraging toleration ¹.

With respect to their present condition, when the short-lived power of imperial France ceased in Savoy, and when the King of Sardinia was restored to his continental dominions, the Vallenses and the Albigenses, who had been placed by Napoleon Buonapartè upon the same footing as their other fellow-subjects, were forthwith reduced to their former state of political degradation and were exposed to every species of vexatious and insulting tyranny ².

¹ Mr. Acland justly calls the suppression of the two Churches, in the year 1686, *the LAST and most oppressive persecution of the Vaudois*. Pref. to Arnaud's Glorious Recov. p. 6. He equally bears testimony to the fact, that, even after their return and their legal establishment, they still continued to prophesy in sackcloth. *From this time, says he, to the usurpation of Piedmont by France, the only distinguishable features in Vaudois history are resignation to an oppressive government and adherence to their faith and to the practice inculcated by it.* Sequel to the Hist. of the Vaud. p. 210.

² They are, at present, forbidden to reside, or to purchase land, beyond the limits of certain specified boundaries: nor can a clergyman visit a sick person who happens to be *beyond* those limits, unless he be accompanied by a Romish layman; and, even then, his stay must not exceed twenty-four hours.

All correspondence with foreign divines is prohibited: and, in order that no books should be introduced among them, immense duties are imposed, particularly on bibles and religious books.

Any physician, surgeon, apothecary, advocate, or notary, brought up to their religion, cannot exercise his profession beyond the limits of the valleys.

They are forbidden to inclose their burial grounds with walls.

If a Romanist steal the child of a Vaudois for the purpose of

Yet still there was no resisting unto blood. A strict adherence to law was professed on the part of the Sardinian government : and, while the exact letter of the edict of the year 1690 was ingeniously employed, as an instrument of much annoyance and discouragement under existing circumstances ; yet it was so far scrupulously respected, that the flames of direct persecution were not again kindled, nor was any individual put to death for the sake of his religion. The two Churches had already finished their *testimony* : henceforth they had only to *prophesy in sackcloth* to the close of the appointed 1260 years. Thus accurately has the prediction in all its parts been accomplished ¹.

proselytism, or if he insult him in the public streets by calling him *dog* or *heretic*, the Vaudois has no redress.

They are compelled to abstain from work on all popish festivals, though they themselves are Protestants : and a refusal to uncover the head to a wooden saint, when carried in procession by their idolatrous neighbours, subjects them to a fine or imprisonment.

These facts abundantly demonstrate, that they are still prophesying in sackcloth agreeably to the declaration that such should be their state to the very end of the fated 1260 years.

¹ It may not be improper to mention, that Mr. Jones, in strange opposition to all evidence, asserts, that the proper expelled Vaudois never returned to their country, and consequently that the persons now denominated *Vaudois* have no connection with those who were driven out of their native seats in the year 1686.

Any one, who peruses Arnaud's *Glorious Recovery*, will immediately, in every page, perceive the utter futility of such an assertion. Certain French Protestants did, indeed, return *with*

(2.) Synchronically with the short period, which comprehends the death and the revival and the ascension of the two witnesses, a great earthquake is said to occur ; in which a tenth part of the city falls and seven thousand names of men are slain, while the remnant are awe-struck and give glory to the God of heaven.

Since the earthquake here predicted is declared to synchronise with the short period, which comprehends the death and the revival and the ascension of the two witnesses ; that is to say, since the earthquake is declared to synchronise with the short period, which commenced in the January of the year 1686 and which expired in the June of the year 1690 : if history should furnish us with *no* corresponding event, we may be sure that the prophecy, relative to the death and the revival and the ascension of the two witnesses, has been erroneously interpreted ; but, on the contrary, if history *should* furnish us with a corresponding event, the propriety of the application of that prophecy to the extinction and the revival and the legal establishment of the Vallensic and Albigensic Churches will evidently receive a very strong confirmation.

In the language of symbolical prophecy, an

them : but, as Arnaud distinctly informs us, these were only six companies out of nineteen. The remaining thirteen were composed of those identical Vaudois, who had been expelled. But, on this point, it were superfluous to expatiate : the matter has been completely settled in Mr. Acland's Postscript.

earthquake denotes a revolution : and the revolution, so described, may be either political or ecclesiastical ¹. Now the earthquake or revolution, here foretold, must, in point of locality, be sought for within the limits of the Western or proper Roman Empire ; because the effect of it is the downfall of the tenth part of the great city Babylon, or (in unfigured language) the downfall of the Roman Church in one of the ten kingdoms into which the Western Roman Empire was divided : and, in point of chronology, if I have rightly applied the prediction relative to the death and the revival and the ascension of the two witnesses, it must be sought for, between the January of the year 1686 when the ancient Churches of the valleys were decretively suppressed, and the June of the year 1690 when they were decretively reëstablished. Thus it appears, that we have a double notation *local* and *chronological*, by which our inquiry must be governed. Whence the only question to be answered is, whether *there* and *then* a revolution occurred, which will answer to the prophetic description of the earthquake.

I shall doubtless be anticipated, even by the most careless reader of modern history, in specifying the memorable English revolution of the year 1688.

The whole reign of our second Charles, who lived a profligate hypocrite and who died an acknowledged papist, was paving the way for the reduction

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.) (2.)

of England under the yoke of Rome. His misguided, though more honest, brother openly professed himself a papist : and, when he had ascended the throne, immediately took steps to effect what he deemed the most vital and important of all objects. With this view, he forthwith sent an embassy of congratulation to the Pope, upon the union of England to the Papacy in the person of its head : he attempted to force avowed Romanists upon the Universities, to the exclusion of those who were Protestants : he commenced a course of direct tyranny over the Anglican Church : he laboured to proselyte the army, in order that his designs might thus be more effectually furthered : and (as it is generally supposed) he entered into a regular plan, in close concurrence with the persecuting king of France, to overturn from its very foundations the cause of English Protestantism.

At this precise point of time, took place the great earthquake or revolution, described by the prophet as synchronising with the period during which the two witnesses lie dead and revive and ascend to heaven. Toward the close of the year 1688, William of Orange landed on the coast, and James abdicated the crown, of England : the jurisdiction of the mystical Babylon was finally dissolved, within one of the ten kingdoms of the divided Roman Empire : and forthwith, by the legalised exclusion of Papists from every office whether spiritual or secular within the realm of England, seven thousand names of men (the scriptural mode of express-

ing *universality*, for seven is the number of completeness and perfection ¹) were slain or reduced to a state of political non-entity. Meanwhile the protestant remnant, who are placed in contradistinction to those who were politically slain by the earthquake, were awe-struck at this wonderful revolution by which their liberty and their religion were secured to them, and gave to the God of heaven the glory of their deliverance ².

(3.) But we have yet another chronological note, which is carefully specified in this wonderful prophecy.

The second woe is said to pass away, *after* the great earthquake has taken place, *after* the two witnesses have risen from the dead, and *after* the same two witnesses have ascended to heaven. When these three events shall have occurred, then the second woe passes away.

¹ See Parkhurst's Heb. Lex. in voc. שבע.

² The striking accordance of their sentiments and feelings on this occasion, with the description of those sentiments and feelings which is given in the prophecy, cannot be better exemplified than by the address which was made to the Prince of Orange, Dec. 18, 1688.

Sir, when we look back to the last month and contemplate the swiftness and fulness of our present deliverance, astonished, we think it miraculous! Your highness, led by the hand of heaven and called by the voice of the people, has preserved our dearest interest: the protestant religion, which is primitive Christianity restored; and our laws, which are our ancient title to our lives, liberties, and estates, and without which the world would be a wilderness. Complete Hist. of England, vol. iii, p. 537.

Now the chronologically latest of the three events is the ascension of the two witnesses to heaven : for, as we have just seen, the great earthquake took place toward the close of the year 1688 ; the two witnesses rose from the dead in the August of the year 1689 ; and the same two witnesses ascended to heaven in the June of the year 1690.

Unless, therefore, the second woe passed away very shortly after the year 1690, the whole of the preceding interpretation will be untenable : because, in that case, it will not quadrate with the chronological note laid down in the prophecy.

Here, however, we have, both a perfect coincidence of the two predictions which specify the term of the second woe, and a perfect accordance of their joint chronological specification with historical matter of fact.

In the one prediction we are taught, that the second woe passes away very shortly after the great earthquake and the figurative ascension of the two witnessing Churches. But we learn from history, that the great earthquake took place in the year 1688, and that the two witnessing Churches ascended to heaven in the year 1690. Therefore, according to the one prediction, the second woe passes away very shortly after the year 1690 has expired.

In the other prediction we are taught, that the second woe passes away at the end of a period of $396\frac{1}{4}$ years reckoned from the epoch when the Turcomannic horsemen were let loose upon the Eastern

Empire. But they were thus let loose in the year 1301. Therefore, according to the other prediction, the year 1697 is the specific time appointed for the passing away of the second woe.

This striking coincidence of two distinct predictions has been perfectly corroborated by matter of fact.

According to the one prediction, the Turks cease to be a woe to the Roman Empire very shortly after the year 1690 : according to the other prediction, they cease to be a woe to the Roman Empire very shortly after the year 1690 : according to the other prediction, they cease to be a woe to the Roman Empire in the precise year 1697. Have they, then, actually ceased to be a woe in correspondence with these two concurring prophecies ? The question is best answered by the voice of history. In the year 1683, the Turks were triumphant ; for they were victoriously besieging Vienna and threatening the Austrian monarchy with destruction : at *this* epoch, therefore, the second woe could not have passed away. But, in the year 1697, at the decisive battle of Zenta, the tide of conquest finally and irrevocably turned against them : and, accordingly, from this fatally preordained time when the second woe passed away, down even to the period in which we are now living, they have gradually declined in strength and importance ; so that thenceforth, instead of being any longer a woe to Christendom, Christendom has rather been a woe to them. In the undesigned language of an his-

torian already cited, *the Sultans then lost nearly half their possessions in Europe : and, from this diminution of territorial sovereignty, THE OTTOMAN POWER, WHICH ONCE THREATENED UNIVERSAL SUBJUGATION, CEASED TO BE FORMIDABLE TO CHRISTENDOM* ¹.

IV. We now come to the fourth clause of the vision : a clause, which, by mentioning the lapse of the second woe introduced by the sixth trumpet, and by announcing the approach of the third woe introduced by the seventh trumpet, artfully connects together, in the vitally important point of chronological arrangement, the greater scaled book and the smaller opened book of the Apocalypse.

The second woe is past : and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly. And the seventh angel sounded : and there were great voices in heaven, saying ; The sovereignty of the world has become our Lord's and his Christ's² : and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying : We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast and art to come, because thou hast taken thy great power and hast exercised thy sovereignty. And the nations were

¹ See above book iv. chap. 7. § II. 5. (4.)

² Instead of the common reading, ἐγένοντο αἱ βασιλεῖαι, I adopt that preferred by Griesbach ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία. It rests on the authority of Steph. α. ιε. ις. Alex. Baroc. Pet. 2. Hunt. 1. Sin. M. Vel. Vulg. Syr. Arab. Æthiop. Arethas.

angry, and thy wrath has come : and it is the season of the dead to be judged ; the season also to give recompense to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to those that fear thy name, small and great ; the season also to destroy them who destroy the earth. And the temple of God in heaven was opened ; and the ark of his covenant was seen in his temple : and there were lightnings and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail¹.

1. The third woe chronologically succeeds the second : and we are assured, that it will come not very long after the second shall have passed away. Now the second woe passed away in the year 1697 : we may, therefore, expect the third to come after an interval of no very great length of time from that epoch. *Long* and *short*, however, are comparative terms. Hence, we may say, the *probable* interval between the end of the second woe and the beginning of the third will be regulated and determined by the *known* interval between the end of the first and the beginning of the second. But an interval of more than five centuries elapsed between the passing away of the first and the commencement of the second woe. The interval, therefore, between the passing away of the second and the commencement of the third woe is short only as compared to five centuries. Hence we might reasonably conjecture *even a priori*, that the interval

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¹ Rev. xi. 14—19.

in question may occupy a space of time not exceeding one century. The event has shewn, that such a conjecture would have been just.

2. As the third woe is here introduced, only by way of marking the chronological junction of the little open book and the larger sealed book ; and as the prophet does not give a full account of it, until he returns to that larger book : I shall follow his plan, and resume the consideration of the third woe hereafter ¹.

¹ See below book vi.

CHAPTER III.

RESPECTING THE SECOND SECTION OF THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK, OR THE VISION OF THE DRAGON AND THE WOMAN.

THE second section of the little open book comprehends the vision of the parturiant woman and the great red dragon.

I. Of this vision, the first clause respects the parturition of the woman, the attack made upon her by the dragon, the abreption of her child to the throne of God, and her own flight into the wilderness where she is fed during a period of 1260 prophetic days.

And there appeared a great wonder in heaven ; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And there appeared another wonder in heaven : and, behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth : and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her

*child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron : and her child was caught up unto God and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days*¹.

The second section of the little book, which contains the vision of the dragon and the woman, relates, like its fellows preceding and succeeding, to the events which occur during the period of the latter three times and a half. For, at the commencement of that period, the woman flees into the wilderness : and, since her flight is described as taking place immediately upon her parturition, her parturition itself must have occurred at the commencement of the same period. But, at the precise time when she is in the act of parturition, the dragon draws down the third part of the stars of heaven, and casts them to the earth. Therefore, since the parturition of the woman synchronises with the commencement of the latter three times and a half, and since the casting down of the stars synchronises with the parturition of the woman ; the casting down of the stars must have taken place at the commencement of the latter three times and a half also.

Nothing, consequently, in the whole vision, can be said to have preceded the commencement of

¹ Rev. xii. 1—6.

that great period, except the momentary apparition of the pregnant woman and of the red dragon holding himself in readiness to devour her offspring. With this phantasm the vision opens indeed : but, in the next instant of time, St. John beholds the dejection of the stars by the dragon, the parturition of the woman, the abreption of her child to the throne of God, and the flight of the woman herself into the wilderness.

Such an arrangement, so far as I can judge, is plainly required by the express language of the prophecy. St. John does not *behold* the woman during the period of her gestation ; though he carefully specifies the period itself, because it serves as an index to mark the true epoch when the subsequent period of 1260 prophetic days commenced : but he sees her, *for the first time*, when on the very point of bringing forth, when in the very article of parturition ; in other words, he *first* sees her immediately before the commencement of those 1260 prophetic days during the lapse of which she is fed in the wilderness. One moment, he beholds her in the actual pains of child-birth : the next moment, she produces a son and flees into the wilderness where she hath a place prepared of God. Then commences the period of the 1260 prophetic days or of the ~~latter~~ three times and a half. *She, being with child, cried, TRAVAILING IN BIRTH AND PAINED TO BE DELIVERED*, says the Apostle : *and the dragon stood before the woman WHICH WAS READY TO BE DELIVERED, for to devour her child*

as soon as it was born. Now a woman is only *ready to be delivered*, at the close of the forty weeks of her gestation. Hence, as St. John *first* beholds the woman, when she is *ready and even pained to be delivered*; as she flees into the wilderness, immediately upon her parturition; and as the 1260 prophetic days then commence: the present vision, like that of the two witnesses, must be viewed as opening with the latter three times and a half. Such being the case, the sackcloth-prophecy of the two witnesses will synchronise with the events detailed in the present vision as occurring while the desolate woman sojourns in the wilderness. But we have had reason to believe, that the latter three times and a half commenced in the year 604¹. Therefore, if this belief be well founded, in the same year 604 must have occurred the several events shadowed out by the synchronical dejection of the stars, the parturition of the woman, the abreption of her child to the throne of God, and her own flight into the wilderness².

¹ See above book i. chap. 6.

² The great error, into which commentators have usually fallen in the interpretation of this vision, is the making it more or less completely *precede*, in point of chronology, the subsequent vision of the seven-headed and ten-horned wild-beast.

On such a principle, the persecution of the woman by the dragon has been referred to the persecution of Christianity by the Pagan Roman Empire; the placing of the child upon the throne of God, to the establishment of Christianity under Constantine; the war between Michael and the dragon, to the struggle between Christianity and Paganism; the fall of the

I consider the present vision as by far the most difficult in the whole Apocalypse: yet the difficulty consists, not so much in ascertaining the general import of it, as in acquiring a distinct idea of the

dragon from heaven, to the final overthrow of idolatry; and the flood which he vomited from his mouth, to the irruption of the Gothic tribes into the Roman Empire.

Now all these events confessedly took place *before* the commencement of the 1260 prophetic days: and yet the vision opens with the parturition and immediate flight of the woman into the wilderness *at* the commencement of that very period. How, then, is the vision to be applied to events confessedly *anterior* to the commencement of the 1260 prophetic days?

This is managed by the theory of a Prolepsis. We are told, by commentators who adopt the present scheme of interpretation, that the woman's flight into the wilderness at the commencement of the 1260 days, and her sojourn there during the continuance of that period, are mentioned purely in the way of anticipation. Hence, though the prophet describes the war between Michael and the dragon as occurring *after* the woman's flight at the commencement of the 1260 days, and though he places the flood which the dragon casts out of his mouth also *after* the commencement of the same period: we ought, nevertheless, to make them chronologically *precede* her flight, on the ground, that the flight and the 1260 days are mentioned only proleptically.

If such a mode of interpretation as this be allowable, we may, so far as I can understand the merits of the question, produce any thing out of any thing. As for the alleged Prolepsis, I vainly seek for any proof of its existence. The whole figment is a mere gratuitous assumption.

With the radical error which I have here pointed out, the various systems of Mede, More, Cressner, Whiston, the two Newtons, Whitaker, Cuninghame, Woodhouse, Bicheno, Holmes, and many others, are all more or less chargeable.

symbols under which it is conveyed. Hence the most satisfactory mode of discussion is, to begin with considering the terms of the prophecy, then to compare the machinery of the present vision with the machinery of its predecessor, and lastly to apply the hieroglyphical picture to corresponding events in history.

1. Let us then, in the first place, attempt to gain some clear idea of the symbolical imagery, which is employed as the vehicle of the prediction.

The prophet looks up to heaven : and he beholds in it a woman who bears a man-child and a dragon which prepares to devour that man-child.

(1.) Heaven is the visible Church under its spiritual governors : but, as the figurative world, treated of in the Apocalypse, is the Roman world ; the heaven, here mentioned, must be the visible Church, as limited to the Roman Empire, and more especially as limited to the Western Empire since the fates of the Western Empire form the special subject of the little open book¹.

This visible Church, agreeably to our Lord's frequent description of it, comprehends both the holy and the unholy, both spiritual Christians and nominal Christians². Hence we may expect to find within it persons of very different and even opposite characters : nor need we be surprised, if we observe the evil spirit himself exerting his influence over a considerable part of it.

¹ See above book i. chap. II. 1. (2.)

² See Matt. xiii. 3—50. xxiv. 45—51. xxv.

(2.) The woman, who is described as stationed in the figurative heaven, must obviously, from the very circumstance of her position, represent some certain portion of the visible Church of the Western Empire. Now the two portions, into which the visible Church is divided, are faithful worshippers and unfaithful worshippers. The woman, therefore, agreeably to the familiar custom of representing communities by females, must denote either the great body of faithful worshippers collectively or the great body of unfaithful worshippers collectively. She cannot denote the latter, because she is exhibited as the object of satanical hatred and persecution. Therefore she must denote the former.

Hence we may pronounce the woman to represent the collective body of God's faithful worshippers, though with a special geographical reference, throughout the present vision, to the Western Empire : in other words, she is the mystical or faithful Church of Christ ¹.

(3.) In the same heaven or visible Church with the woman, St. John also beholds a great red dragon or serpent.

This hieroglyphic, as we are repeatedly taught by the prophet himself, represents the evil spirit of darkness ² : yet the very circumstance of its peculiar conformation plainly shews, that it does not represent the devil *simply* or *abstractedly*. As Satan, in his persecution of the faithful, acts through the

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 5. (1.)

² Rev. xii. 9, 12, 13. xx. 2, 7, 10.

instrumentality of visible powers and human agents : so, in the hieroglyphic, his figure is managed after such a manner, that we may at once learn from it the particular Power and the particular agents which he employs as his external instruments during the chronological term of the present vision. The serpent is described, as having seven heads and ten horns. But these seven heads and ten horns are the heads and horns of a wild-beast, which is fully described in the succeeding vision, and which is allowed by all commentators (however they may differ in subordinate matters) to typify the secular Roman Empire. Hence we may be sure, that the serpent does not represent the evil spirit *abstractedly*, but the evil spirit *acting through the instrumentality of the Roman Empire and particularly through the instrumentality of those ten Gothic horns which sprang up in its Western Division*. Now, both the woman, and the dragon complete with his borrowed secular members, are alike placed within the limits of the figurative heaven or within the pale of the visible Church as existing in the Roman Empire. But the visible Church comprehends the two distinct portions of faithful worshippers and unfaithful worshippers. The collective body of faithful worshippers, however, is represented by the woman. Therefore the collective body of unfaithful worshippers must be represented by the borrowed members of the infernal dragon.

Hence we may pronounce, that the dragon in his borrowed members represents the collective body

of God's unfaithful worshippers : and, since those borrowed members are the members of the secular Roman Empire, we may further pronounce, that the collective body of God's unfaithful worshippers, during the term of the present vision, is composed of the secular Powers of the Roman Empire, though with a special geographical reference (as before) to its Western Division or to the peculium of the ten horns.

The borrowed members, however, of the dragon are all secular members : and it is impossible to conceive, how these could all be unfaithful worshippers, unless they were provided with and influenced by an unfaithful clergy. Such teachers, accordingly, are set over them : and the corruption of the teachers is directly ascribed to the evil spirit. In the hieroglyphical painting, the tail of the dragon draws along and casts down from heaven to earth a third part of the stars. But, in the figured language of prophecy, stars, when understood ecclesiastically, denote the bishops and pastors of the Church¹ : their fall from heaven to earth signifies, that their apostasy is completed² : and the apocalyptic phrase of THE THIRD PART denotes some one of the three parts, into which the Roman world is divided³. Therefore the present action, ascribed to the dragon, imports, that, through the delusive agency of the evil one, the bishops and pastors of a

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (2.)

² See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (2.)

³ See above book iv. chap. 5.

third part of the Roman world should be drawn along in the folds of a base superstition, and should at length be seduced into a complete apostasy from the genuine faith of the Gospel. The little book, however, treats, throughout, of the Western Empire or the western third part of the Roman world. Hence we learn, that the apostate bishops and pastors are those, whose sees and cures are geographically situated within the limits of the Western Empire. Such being the case, they are obviously the unfaithful clergy, who influence and direct the borrowed secular members of the dragon throughout the Western Empire and during the allotted term of the present vision.

(4.) The hieroglyphic of the man-child still remains to be interpreted ; and it is by far the most difficult symbol in the prophetic picture : for, if the woman denote the whole collective body of faithful worshippers within the visible Church of the West, and if the dragon in his borrowed members and with the stars which he draws into apostasy denote the whole collective body of unfaithful worshippers within the same visible Church, no *additional* character within that Church seems left for the man-child to typify. It presents, therefore, a problem of no very easy solution ; a problem, in fact, which, so far as application is concerned, can only be resolved by history.

In the symbolical language of the ancient prophets, the birth of a man-child denotes the setting apart of a community from the great general mass

with which it was previously commingled : while the gestation and labour-throes which precede it refer to the difficulties and trials and troubles, of whatsoever description they may be, which precede the setting apart of the community in question. Thus Isaiah employs such imagery to describe the restoration of the Jews from their long dispersion among the Gentiles. At present, that people, though even now forming a distinct community of their own, are yet mixed and blended with the great mass of mankind. But, when the time of their restoration shall arrive, they will be set apart from among all nations, as a previously-existing child is set apart from the womb of his mother : and this setting apart will be effected during a period of unexampled trouble, which is figuratively described as the severe pangs of parturition ¹.

Such, then, is the abstract import of the birth of a man-child : but, in the present vision, this allegorical phraseology has a special and particular relation to Christ ; for the man-child is described, like Christ himself, as one who should rule all nations with a rod of iron ². Hence, according to a very just observation of Mr. Mede, the man-child of the Apocalypse must denote Christ in *some* sense ³. But he cannot denote the *literal* Christ : because such an application is not consistent, either with the established language of Scripture, which invariably

¹ Isaiah lxvi. 7, 8.

² Compare Rev. xii. 5, with Rev. ii. 26, 27. Psalm ii. 8, 9.

³ Comment. Apoc. in loc.

represents our Lord as the *husband*, not as the *son*, of his Church ; or with the chronology of the prediction, for the *literal* Christ most assuredly was not born at the commencement of the latter 1260 years ; or with the usage of the ancient schools of the prophets, as exemplified in the writings of Isaiah. Therefore, as Mr. Mede rightly judges *in the abstract*, whatever may be thought of his *particular application* of the hieroglyphic, he must denote the *mystical* Christ or Christ the head *considered in his true and genuine members*¹. This being the case, if the birth of a man-child denote *generally* the setting apart of a community, whether civil or ecclesiastical, from the mass with which it was heretofore mingled ; and if the man-child of the Apocalypse denote *particularly* a faithful Christian ecclesiastical community : then it will plainly follow, that the birth of the apocalyptic man-child must denote the setting apart of a faithful Christian ecclesiastical community from the great mass of God's true worshippers ; that, henceforth, safe under the care of an almighty superintending providence, it might bear witness to the Gospel *in its corporate or collegiate capacity*, while the

¹ Comment. Apoc. in loc. The dragon and the man-child seem to be, what Mr. Mede well denominates, *counter-elements*. As the man-child is the mystical Christ, considered in his true and genuine members : so the dragon is the mystical Satan, acting through his special members, the heads and horns of a mighty corrupt and apostatic Empire.

remaining mass out of which it was taken should do so only *individually and unconnectedly*.

On such principles of abstract interpretation, the present vision may be pronounced to declare, that, out of the woman or the collective body of faithful worshippers, should be taken, at the commencement of the latter 1260 years, a faithful Christian ecclesiastical community, which however had previously existed (like a child in the womb) *conjunctively* with that collective body of faithful worshippers; and that, during the lapse of the 1260 years, this faithful Christian ecclesiastical community should preach or set forth the Gospel *as a distinct and regularly political Church*, while the collective body of faithful worshippers out of which it was taken should do so only *in an individual capacity* at this time or at that time. In other words, the present vision declares, that, throughout the entire period of the 1260 years, *a whole Church or Community* should never cease to hold fast the profession of the true faith, notwithstanding that the dragon, by the agency of his borrowed members, should fiercely attempt to devour it; and that, throughout the same term of 1260 years, *numerous individual faithful worshippers*, or (it might be) *faithful Churches reformed from the paganising corruptions of the mystic Gentiles*, should set forth the truth in the midst of the great wilderness of apostate error, though no such single individual and no such single reformed Church *in particular* should thus set it forth during the *whole* 1260 years.

2. Let us now proceed, in the second place, to compare the machinery of the present vision with the machinery of its predecessor.

I have already established the position, that *the vision of the two witnesses and the vision of the dragon and the woman are synchronical, each commencing with the period of the latter 1260 years, and each running through the entire term of that period.* I have likewise established the position, that *the several events, foretold in these two visions, take place on the very same geographical platform; namely, the western third part of the Roman Empire, which is the exclusive subject of the little open book, and which is the peculium of the ten Gothic horns with the eleventh ecclesiastical horn.* Hence we may be morally sure, that the machinery of the one vision must be closely connected with the machinery of the other vision, and consequently that the interpretation of the one will greatly facilitate the interpretation of the other. On these grounds, if we shall find, that the several parts of the machinery of the former vision correspond with the several parts of the machinery of the present vision, we shall have gone far in the applicatory interpretation of the present vision: because the former vision has already been interpreted and applied to its corresponding historical events. We shall not, indeed, have *completed* the applicatory exposition of the present vision; for, if the two were alike in *every* predicted particular, the one would be a mere repetition of the

other couched under a different set of symbols : but, in that case, we shall at all events have *gone far* in the work. Let us, then, inquire, how far the machinery of the one vision answers to the machinery of the other vision.

(1.) In the preceding vision of the two witnesses, the various actors are all comprehended within the limits of the holy city, however different may be the stations which are assigned to them within those limits : in the present vision, both the woman and the man-child and the dragon are described as equally occupying the symbolical heaven. Heaven, therefore, in the present vision, corresponds with the holy city in the last vision. Accordingly, both heaven and the holy city alike symbolise the visible Church existing under the sway of its spiritual governors or viewed under the aspect of a regularly organised polity¹.

Hence the opening of the present vision, and the opening of the last vision, propound to us one and the self-same matter : namely, that, *at the commencement and during the lapse of the latter 1260 years, the visible Church of the Western Empire (for the platform of the Western Empire is exclusively the geographical subject of the little book) should comprehend within its pale two distinct classes of professed Christians ; the one class being a body of measured or faithful worshippers, the other class being a still*

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (2.) 4. (1.)

larger and more powerful body of gentilising or apostatising worshippers unconsciously and secretly under the influence of the evil spirit.

(2.) In the preceding vision, the temple with its inner courts is occupied by the measured worshippers of God : in the present vision, one particular region of heaven is occupied by a woman, whose symbolical decorations consist of the sun and the moon and the twelve stars. Now the measured worshippers of the temple and its inner courts stand in exactly the same relation to the unmeasured Gentiles of the outer court, that the woman does to the borrowed members and the subject stars of the dragon. The woman, therefore, in the present vision, corresponds with the measured worshippers in the last vision. But the measured worshippers denote the collective body of the faithful, during the whole period of the latter 1260 years, though with a limitation in the little book to the geographical platform of the Western Empire. Therefore that same collective body of the faithful, during that same period, must also, as we have already found, be symbolised by the woman. The measured worshippers, however, form the continued line of that mystical Israel, which is said to have been sealed in the reign of Constantine or during the period of the sixth apocalyptic seal. Therefore the woman, during her gestation and previous to the commencement of the latter 1260 years, represents the whole body of the sealed and mystical Israel. Such being the case, the woman, from first

to last, like the sealed Israelites and the measured worshipping Israelites conjointly, symbolises the whole collective body of sincere and uncorrupted Christians from the time of Constantine down to the expiration of the latter 1260 years, though with a special reference during the lapse of that period to the uncorrupted Christians of the Western Empire.

The identity of the woman in the present vision and of the measured worshippers in the preceding vision is additionally shewn by the peculiar ornaments ascribed to the former.

So far as her figure is concerned, the woman appears in the hieroglyphical picture, as clothed with the sun, as standing upon the moon, and as wearing a crown of twelve stars. Hence, as the woman in the present vision represents the same collective body as the measured worshippers in the preceding vision, her ornaments must obviously have relation to the component parts of the measured worshippers. Now the measured worshippers in the temple and at the altar are the mystical Israel of God: whence, as the imagery is doubtless borrowed from the constitution of the literal Israel, they are composed of the high-priest, the inferior priests and levites, and the whole body of the Hebrew laity. Such, then, must likewise be the composition of the woman, when viewed in the peculiar dress which is ascribed to her. Accordingly, the sun, with which she is clothed, symbolises Christ, the antitype under the Gospel of the high-priest under the Law: the moon,

upon which she stands, typifies the ecclesiastical authority of her priesthood : the crown of twelve stars shadows out the twelve Apostles, the antitypes of the twelve patriarchs, the founders and representatives of the episcopal college, and those twelve bases on which is built the wall of the holy city of God¹ : and she herself represents the general collective body of the faithful, the whole assemblage of spiritual Christian worshippers. Thus we see, that the hieroglyphical decorations of the woman are so managed, as to make her a complete symbol of the entire mystic Israel, and therefore to make her, exactly correspond with the measured worshippers in the temple and at the altar.

(3.) In the preceding vision, the outer court of the temple is occupied by the unmeasured Gentiles, who likewise tread under foot the various figurative streets of the holy city : in the present vision, a particular region of heaven, contradistinguished from that where the woman is placed, is occupied by the dragon acting through the medium of his borrowed members. Now the dragon, acting through his ten borrowed horns and his coëxisting western imperial head, shews the same hostility to the woman, that the unmeasured Gentiles shew to the measured worshippers. Hence, as the measured worshippers under their high-priest answer to the woman clothed with the sun, so the unmeasured Gentiles under the influence of a satanical hatred to

* ¹ See Rev. xxi. 12, 14.

the faithful correspond with the ten horns and the coëxisting western imperial head of the dragon under the invisible control of the evil spirit.

The arrangement, thus brought out, exactly agrees with the manifest terror of the preceding vision.

As we have already seen, the Gentiles of the outer court are eminently the apostate members of the ten western Gothic kingdoms; over which the eleventh little horn spiritually presides as the acknowledged head of the great demonolatrous Apostasy: and, when the two witnesses are slain, their murderer is declared to be the wild-beast from the abyss or the sea; that is to say, the wild-beast with those identical seven heads and ten horns, which in the present vision are ascribed to the dragon as his secular and visible tools or members¹.

¹ The seven *heads* of the dragon bear seven crowns: while, in the succeeding hieroglyphic of the wild-beast, the crowns are placed upon the ten *horns*. Rev. xii. 3. xiii. 1.

From this circumstance some have argued, that the dragon means the Pagan Roman Empire *prior* to its disruption into ten independent kingdoms: and they have interpreted the first part of the vision accordingly. But the construction of the symbol affords no warrant for such an opinion: for the seventh head, which sprang up long posterior to the paganism of the Roman Empire, is said to be crowned just as much as the six other heads; so that, if the crowns upon six of its heads determine the opening of the prophecy to relate to the persecuting times of pagan Rome anterior to the reign of Constantine, the crown upon the seventh head will equally determine it to relate to the times of that seventh head. The simple truth of the matter is, that the two prophecies conjoined merely tell us, that all the seven heads and all the ten horns should, at one time or another, wear crowns.

(4.) In the preceding vision, the same temple with its inner courts, which is occupied by the collective body of the measured worshippers, is also occupied by the two witnesses ; and these two witnesses or two faithful Churches constitute a distinct portion by themselves, which portion, at the commencement of the latter 1260 years, is described as being set apart from or taken out of the general collective body of measured worshippers throughout the Western Empire : in the present vision, the same part of heaven, which is occupied by the woman, is also occupied by the man-child ; and this man-child constitutes a distinct symbol by himself, which symbol, at the commencement of the 1260 years, is described as being born or taken out of the greater symbol of the woman. Now the measured worshippers, in the preceding vision, answer to the woman in the present vision : and the two witnesses, in every respect, bear exactly the same relation to the measured worshippers, that the man-child does to the woman. I conclude, therefore, that the two distinct Churches, which are severally intended by the two witnesses, are jointly and collectively intended by the single hieroglyphic of the man-child.

Hence it appears, that the man-child symbolises the two Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenes or the Vallensico-Albigensic Church of faithful witnesses to the truth. ' This variety of expression I use designedly, as best exhibiting the condition of the communities in question, and as best

according with the remarkable numerical difference between the two allied symbols. Originally, the Vallenses and the Albigenses constituted only a single Church : but, at a very remote era, apparently anterior to the commencement of the latter 1260 years, the Albigenses branched out from the Vallenses ; and thus two distinct Churches, though holding and professing the same Gospel, were formed in France and Piedmont. In this separate condition they remained, each on their own geographical platform, for the space of many centuries : but, reverting at length to their first condition anterior to the commencement of the 1260 years, ever since the destructive crusade against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, they have again jointly constituted only a single Church ; for the remnant of the Albigenses, chased by their persecutors out of Languedoc, took refuge in the valleys of Savoy, and henceforth became inseparably united with the Vallenses in one community. With reference to this circumstance, the numerically varying symbols appear to have been contrived. For a season, the Vallenses and the Albigenses formed two distinct Churches : hence, in the preceding vision, they are distinctively called *two witnesses*, and are severally typified by two olive-trees and two candlesticks. But, ever since the crusade in the thirteenth century, they have jointly, as in their original condition, formed only a single Church : hence, in the present vision, they are collectively symbolised by a single man-child. Thus

do the two hieroglyphics accurately represent these faithful servants of God in each of their successive conditions : for we may say, that the two witnesses are the two Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, while the single man-child typifies the single Vallensio-Albigensic Church. The Churches, in short, as their history testifies, are two and yet one. Hence the symbols, by which they are represented, are two and yet one also.

3. Let us now, in the third place, apply the hieroglyphical picture to corresponding events in history.

Much of this task will have been anticipated by the previous comparison of the machinery of the present vision with the machinery of the last vision : for, if that comparison has been rightly conducted, the interpretation of the one vision will in a great measure be the interpretation of the other. Yet an applicatory exposition of the present hieroglyphical picture may be neither useless nor uninteresting, even if we are compelled in some measure to travel again over the same ground.

We have seen, that the fall of the Latin stars, the birth of the man-child, his abreption to the throne of God, and the flight of the woman into the wilderness, all take place synchronically : and we have further seen, that the occurrence of these various events is fixed, *chronologically* to the commencement of the latter 1260 years, *geographically* to the third part of the Roman world or to the platform of the Western Empire. Hence it will fol-

low, that we must seek for the corresponding historical events, *chronologically* at the commencement of the same period, and *geographically* within the limits of the same platform: hence likewise it will follow, since the woman brings forth her son at the commencement of the 1260 years, that the period of her allegorical gestation terminates when the period of the 1260 years begins.

(1.) There is little difficulty in ascertaining the event, which is shadowed out by the fall of the Latin stars from heaven.

At the sounding of the fifth trumpet, which introduces the first woe, and which synchronises with the commencement of the latter 1260 years, a star completes its fall from heaven: and, agreeably to the prophetic mode of considering cause and effect, this star opens the pit of the abyss, and lets out Apollyon with his Saracenic locusts. But, in the figured language of symbols, the completed fall of a star, when interpreted ecclesiastically, denotes the completed apostasy of a Christian Bishop. Hence, as the great Apostasy was completed by the revelation of the man of sin, and as he himself was revealed when in the year 604 the times and the laws and the saints were given into his hand by the representatives of the ten secular Powers established within his own peculiar spiritual domain: I considered the completed fall of the star at the commencement of the fifth trumpet, which trumpet is determined by the chronology of Saracenic history to have begun to sound immedi-

ately before the year 608 or 609, to be the completed apostasy of the Roman Pontiff by his becoming in the year 604 the western head of the great demonolatrous Apostasy ¹.

Now, synchronically with the completed fall of this eminent star from heaven, the tail of the dragon, as we learn from the present vision, also draws along and casts down from heaven a third part of the stars, or the stars whose episcopal sees lay within the territories of the Latin Empire and the Patriarchate of Rome.

Such a synchronism at once determines the proper application of the imagery before us. With the leading star of Rome, the subject stars of the Roman Patriarchate fell into complete apostasy: and the whole host, subsequent to the revelation of the lawless one, formed conjointly that wonderful spiritual Empire, which St. John (as we shall presently see) typifies by a second lamb-like beast, and which employed the first or secular wild-beast as its agent of persecution during the allotted term of 1260 years ².

(2.) Contemporaneously with the fall of the Latin stars, we are to seek for the event which answers to the parturition of the woman and the birth of the man-child.

We have seen, that, in the abstract, the birth of the man-child from the woman denotes the setting apart of a community from a larger general collec-

¹ Rev. ix. 1, 2. See above book iv. chap. 7. § I.

² See below book v. chap. 5.

tive body for some given purpose or other : and we have likewise seen, that the woman and the man-child in the present vision answer, respectively to the measured worshippers and the two witnesses in the preceding vision.

Such being the case, the event, thus hieroglyphically described, will be the setting apart of the Vallensico-Albigensic Church, from the general collective body of the faithful, for the purpose of testifying to the truth, *as a distinct community* and not *as a mere scattered and unconnected body of individuals*, during the whole period of the 1260 years. Hitherto, the man-child had existed only *in the womb* of his allegorical mother; or, in unfigured language, hitherto the Vallensico-Albigensic Church had existed *conjointly* with many pious individuals, and had not been *set apart* from them for the special purpose of testifying against the great Apostasy during the term of the 1260 years : but, at the commencement of that period, the man-child is *born* ; or, in unfigured language, the Vallensico-Albigensic Church is specially *set apart*, that it might bear witness, in its corporate capacity, against the abominations of the prevailing demonolatry.

(3.) We must next inquire, what circumstance is meant by the abreption of the man-child to the throne of God.

In the vision, the man-child appeared to the prophet, as snatched away to God and to his throne immediately upon his birth : and the reason of his

being so caught up was, that he might be preserved from the fury of the dragon which stood ready to devour him as soon as he was born.

By this imagery we are plainly enough to understand, that, although the evil spirit, through the agency of his borrowed Roman members, would endeavour by the fury of persecution utterly to destroy the community which testified against the corruptions of the great Apostasy: yet, by the superintending regal providence of God, it should be wonderfully preserved from extinction; and, even when it should have been completely suppressed in its corporate capacity (as we learn from the preceding vision) during the space of three natural years and a half, still it should be restored to political life, and should reassume its allotted function of a faithful prophet.

Much the same thing, though in different words, is said of the two mystic witnesses in the preceding vision. They stand before the God of the earth, who is seated upon his throne the mercy-seat in the penetralè of the temple: and, safe under his protection, though exercising their ministry in sackcloth, they are enabled to bid defiance to the utmost fury of their enemies.

(4.) When the man-child is caught up to the throne of God, the woman his mother flees into the wilderness; where she has a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there during a period of 1260 prophetic days.

The imagery, here employed, is borrowed from

the history of Elijah : and both the circumstantial and the numerical coincidence is such, that the Hebrew prophet must certainly be deemed a type of that collective body of faithful worshippers, which is symbolised by the persecuted woman. During a period of famine, when the natural heaven was shut up for three years and six months, Elijah retired into the wilderness : and there, in a place prepared for him, he was from day to day miraculously fed by ravens ¹. After a similar manner, during a period of spiritual famine, when the allegorical heaven is shut so that it rain not for 1260 prophetic days or three prophetic years and a half, the woman flees into the wilderness : and there, in a place prepared for her by divine providence, she is wonderfully fed and sustained with a sufficiency of spiritual food ². Elijah, then, is clearly a type of the persecuted woman : a matter of very considerable importance, because it decidedly establishes the true nature of her *character*. From the circumstance of the woman fleeing into the wilderness, and from the circumstance of the Babylonian harlot likewise appearing in the wilderness, some commentators have hastily supposed, that these two women are in truth one and the same person : whence, as the Babylonian harlot is the symbol of an apostate Church, they contend, that the flight of the woman into the wilderness denotes the lapse of the Western or Latin Church into apostasy. Now

¹ Luke iv. 25, 26. James v. 17, 18. 1 Kings xvii.

² Rev. xi. 3, 6. xii. 6.

the error of such an opinion is at once demonstrated by the fact of Elijah being an evident type of the woman in the present vision : for Elijah, being a *faithful* prophet during a gloomy season of general idolatry, plainly cannot be the type of an *apostate* Church, but must on the contrary be the type of that collective body which remained *faithful* during the dark period of the great demonolatrious Apostasy.

Why then, it may be asked, on the principle of symbolical imagery, is the woman, if an hieroglyphic of the collective body of faithful worshippers throughout the western Empire, represented as fleeing into the wilderness : for the figurative wilderness shadows out a state of extreme spiritual barrenness and ignorance and corruption¹ ?

To answer this question, we need only attend to the joint machinery of the last and the present vision.

The holy city of the one vision, and the heaven of the other vision, are alike the visible Church of the Western Empire. But, when the holy city was trodden down by the Gentiles, and when the heaven was occupied by the apostate borrowed members of the dragon, the visible Western Church became, in the figured language of prophecy, a wilderness. Hence the Babylonian harlot, and the Roman beast which she rides, are said by St. John to be in the wilderness : because the Western Church and the

¹ See above book i. chap. i. § II. 5. (2.)

Western Empire, during the latter 1260 years, apostatised into a state of spiritual barrenness and ignorance and corruption¹. Now the measured worshippers of the last vision, and the faithful woman of the present vision, are stationed in the very same holy city and in the very same heaven with the unmeasured Gentiles and the borrowed members of the dragon: for the temple and the two inner courts are within the inclosure of the holy city; and the place, occupied by the woman, is within the precincts of that very heaven which the dragon occupies. Such being the case, when the holy city and the figurative heaven were transformed, by apostasy, into a barren wilderness; the faithful woman was, of necessity, within the *geographical* limits of that wilderness, no less than the harlot by whom she was persecuted: though, as we are carefully told, she had a place in it prepared of God himself, where she is duly fed with spiritual food during the period of the latter 1260 years.

Having thus analysed the hieroglyphical imagery, we shall have little difficulty in pointing out the circumstance which it is designed to represent.

Throughout the whole term of the latter 1260 years, while the Church of the Western Empire is transformed by apostasy into a barren wilderness, many individuals within the limits of that figurative wilderness, like the seven thousand men of Israel

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¹ Rev. xvii. 3.

who even in the worst of times had not bent their knee to Baal, shall continue to make a profession of the true faith, and shall be spiritually nourished with food from heaven in the several regions prepared for them¹.

The existence of such a succession of pious worshippers, in the very midst of the apostate Western Church and during the entire period of the middle ages, has been so fully and repeatedly established, that it were plainly superfluous to enter into any laboured discussion of the subject².

(5.) To complete the examination of this part of the vision, it will be proper to determine another matter; which, though not exactly *included* within it, is of necessity *supposed* and *presumed* by the very terms of the oracle: I mean the period of the woman's allegorical gestation.

The present vision, as we have seen, opens with the parturition of the woman at the commencement of the latter 1260 years. But her parturition implies her previous gestation: for, though the man-child was born or set apart from his mother at the commencement of the 1260 years, he did not then *begin* to exist; on the contrary, he had *already* existed in immediate union with her during the whole preceding term of her figurative pregnancy. Hence, as her parturition occurs at the commencement of the 1260 years, her gestation must be the

¹ 1 Kings xix. 18.

² See Bishop Newton's Dissert. on Rev. xi.

period which immediately precedes the commencement of the 1260 years.

Now, in the economy of nature from which the imagery of the vision is undoubtedly borrowed, the ordinary time of a woman's gestation is 40 weeks or 280 days. Such being the case, since days in prophetic language are years, the allegorical gestation of the woman will constitute a period of 280 natural years.

The parturition, however, of the woman takes place at the commencement of the latter 1260 years: and we have reason to believe, that those 1260 years commenced in the year 604. Would we, therefore, learn the commencement of her gestatory period, we must reckon back 280 years from that epoch. But this retrograde operation will bring us to the year 324. Consequently, if our premises be valid, the year 324 is the epoch at which the period of the woman's gestation must have commenced.

It may be recollected, that, in the vision of the sixth seal, which coincides with the age of Constantine and with the establishment of Christianity as the national religion of the Roman Empire, a remarkable separation is described as taking place in the figurative Israel of God. A certain mystical number out of each of the twelve tribes is said to be sealed, while the great bulk of the nation is left unsealed. Now, by the figurative Israel of that vision, we are doubtless to understand the visible Church of the Roman Empire as it existed in the

days of Constantine. Hence the separation, effected by the shadowy act of sealing, will plainly enough denote a separation of truly spiritual Christians from *those who were mérely political Christians and from those who were deeply infected by the growing superstition of the age*¹.

It may be further recollected, that the successors and continuators of these sealed Israelites appear in the vision of the two witnesses: where they are stationed in the temple and its two inner courts; and where they are represented, as being measured for the purpose of separating them from the unmeasured Gentiles of the outer court, who tread down the holy city during the permitted term of 1260 years².

And it may be finally recollected, that the woman of the present vision has been doubly identified, with the sealed Israelites before the commencement of the 1260 years, and with the measured Israelites subsequent to the commencement of that period: so that she corresponds with the former, during the term of her gestation which precedes the 1260 years; while she answers to the latter, after the time of her parturition, and during her recess in the wilderness which commences and coincides with the 1260 years in question³.

Now the gestation of the woman, as we have seen, must have commenced in the year 324; or

¹ See above book iv. chap. 3. § II. 2. (1.)

² See above book v. chap. 2. § I.

³ See above book v. chap. 3. § I. 2. (2.)

280 years before the epoch of her parturition in the year 604^a, when the 1260 years appear to have commenced. But, about the same time, the sealing of the figurative Israelites, in the *age of Constantine* and under the sixth apocalyptic seal, must have occurred. For the sixth seal, the period of which runs into the period of the seventh seal agreeably to the analogy of the whole septenary, was opened in the year 313; when Constantine, about five months after the conquest of Italy, made a solemn and authentic declaration of his sentiments by the celebrated edict of Milan¹: and it was in the year 324, when, after the defeat and death of Licinius, he reigned without a colleague sole lord of the Roman Empire, that he publicly announced to the world by a special edict his own conversion to the faith of Christ and consequently the important fact that henceforth the Gospel was to be deemed the religion of the court².

The year 324, then, seems to be the era, when the figurative sealing of the 144,000 faithful Israelites commenced: for, at that time, the truly spiritual Christians began to be separated into a distinct collective body from the secular converts to the court religion and from the multitude now rapidly degenerating into abject superstition. In this year, therefore, the woman, who symbolises the collective body of the faithful, began to be separated from the corrupt mass of the outward professing

¹ See above book iv. chap. 3. § II. 1.

² Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 321, 322.

visible Church. But, to this identical year 324, we are numerically directed to ascribe the commencement of her allegorical gestation : for, as her parturition took place in the year 604, her gestation must have commenced 280 years earlier ; that is to say, her gestation must have commenced in the precise year 324.

Now her son, the man-child, answers, as we have seen, to the two witnesses of the preceding vision : while the woman herself answers to the collective body of measured worshippers. Hence the man-child symbolises the Vallensico-Albigensic Church : and his mother symbolises the general collective body of the faithful, from the year 324 down to the end of the 1260 years, though with a limitation (as noted above) during the lapse of the 1260 years to the Western Empire. Such being the case, the man-child, during the period of his mother's gestation, represents the Vallensico-Albigensic Church, *undistinguished* from the collective body of the faithful because not yet *set apart* for its appointed task during the lapse of the 1260 years, though separated conjunctively with that body, by the mystical act of sealing, from the great mass of the now corrupt and secularised visible Church : while the same man-child, subsequent to his mother's parturition, represents the same Vallensico-Albigensic Church, now *distinguished* or *set apart* from the collective body of the faithful for the purpose of executing the task which is specially allotted to it as a Church during the entire period of the latter 1260 years.

Thus we see, that the antecedent term of the woman's gestation accurately marks out the period, during which the faithful had continued to separate themselves from a now corrupt and secularised Church visible previous to the commencement of those 1260 years, throughout which an eminent ecclesiastical branch of the faithful was destined to prophesy in sackcloth against the abominations of the completed demonolatrous Apostasy. This separation is determined, by the vision of the sixth seal, to the age of Constantine: and the voice of prophecy is most remarkably corroborated by the testimony of the Vallenses themselves; for (as we have seen above) they fix their own separation from the corrupt visible Church to the time of Pope Sylvester the contemporary of Constantine, pronouncing that Pontiff to be St. Paul's man of sin, and declaring that from that epoch the Church at large perished or ceased to be the faithful spouse of Christ¹.

Here, then, we incidentally obtain a new proof, that the 1260 years must have commenced in the year 604.

The gestation of the woman commenced, when the figurative 144,000 Israelites were, by the act of sealing, separated from the great body of the visible Israel. But this separation, agreeably to the necessary chronology of the sixth apocalyptic seal, must have taken place in the time of the Emperor

¹ See above book iii. chap. 2. § IV. 2. (3.)

Constantine and the Pope Sylvester : and a more proper definite era for its commencement cannot be pitched upon, than the year 324, when Constantine, by avowing himself a convert to Christianity, henceforth made it the religion of the court. The period, however, of the woman's gestation comprehends, agreeably to the economy of nature, 40 prophetic weeks or 280 prophetic days or 280 solar years : and her parturition takes place exactly at the commencement of the 1260 years. Let us, then, reckon 280 years downward from the year 324, and we shall be brought to the year 604. Consequently, in the year 604, the parturition of the woman must have taken place, and the 1260 years must have commenced.

As for the state of the visible Church general, immediately before and unremittingly after the mystic sealing of the 144,000 Israelites, or immediately before and unremittingly after the commencement of the gestation of the now separated woman, nothing can more lamentably shew the need of such a sealing or separation of the faithful.

In the year 317, commenced the Arian heresy ; which, spreading into the West, was not finally extinguished until the year 600¹. Shortly afterward, in the year 345, sprang up the fanatical and ferocious sect of the Donatists². Synchronically with

¹ Gibbon's Hist. of the Decl. vol. iii. p. 314, 329—332, 350—396. vol. vi. p. 301, 302.

² Ibid. vol. iii. p. 398—402.

schism and heresy, the predicted demonolatrous Apostasy of the latter days, though not yet perfected by the acquisition of its lawless head, was making rapid inroads into the visible Church¹. And, to complete the deformity of this dismal picture, with heresy and schism and superstition was associated a bitter spirit of animosity and bigotry².

II. We now come to the second clause of the vision; which describes a war, between Michael and his angels on the one side, and the dragon and his angels on the other side.

And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon: and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven: Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony: and they loved not their lives unto death.

¹ Gibbon's Hist. of Decline, vol. v. p. 115—118, 123, 124, 126—136.

² Ibid. vol. iii. p. 403.

Therefore, rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them ¹.

In my attempt to expound this part of the vision, I shall pursue the same method as that which I have followed in the elucidation of its former part. A general idea of its import must first be gained in the abstract : and then we shall be prepared to apply it to its corresponding event or events in history.

1. The grandiloquence of prophecy exhibits to us a war in heaven, carried on, by Michael and his angels on the one side, and by the dragon and his angels on the other side : but such imagery is purely what Bishop Hurd would call *the embroidered robe*, in which are enveloped certain literal matters of fact, that occur in this present nether world ².

As heaven denotes the visible Church general, though, in the predictions of the little book, with a special limitation to the Church general of the Western or Latin Empire : so the conflicting angels are, by the very necessity of the symbol, nothing more than mere mortal men, who, within the limits of one and the same general Church, take the opposite sides of a grand litigated question. In truth, the Apostle himself furnishes the key to his own phraseology. Scarcely are the angels of

¹ Rev. xii. 7—12.

² See Bp. Hurd's Introd. to the study of Proph. serm. ix. vol. ii. p. 107.

Michael brought upon the stage, when they are forthwith styled *our brethren*: and, respecting the nature of their victory over the dragon, it is said, that *they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony*, and that *they loved not their lives unto death*. Such a victory as this is clearly no victory achieved by the arm of violence: nor is it possible, that the victors themselves can be angelic spirits; for they conquer by losing their lives, and they overcome through the blood of the Lamb and by their own faithful testimony to the truth. Nothing, therefore, can be more evident, than that the angels of Michael are mere mortal men: and, since the nature of the angels of Michael is thus determined to be that of simple humanity, we are bound by analogy to conclude, that the angels of the dragon are mere mortal men likewise.

The warriors, then, on either side, are embodied men, not unembodied spirits: and, with respect to the specific character of these men, it is fixed, if I mistake not, by the common appellation which is borne alike by the individuals of each conflicting army. In the phraseology both of the Old Testament and of the New Testament, those, who either are or who claim to be the priests and ministers and delegates of the Most High God, are styled *the angels or messengers of the Lord*¹. Hence, I

¹ Hagg. i. 13. Malach. ii. 7. Rev. i. 20. ii. 1, 8, 12, 18. iii. 1, 7, 14. For a full discussion of this curious subject, see my

think, we may safely conclude, that the combatants in the figurative heaven or in the literal Church general of the Western Empire, whom St. John himself with strict congruity declares to be men, are the priesthood of the Latin Empire, who, in the course of the latter 1260 years, variously espouse the cause, either of apostatic error on the one hand, or of pure Christianity on the other hand.

To such a conclusion, accordingly, we are brought by the very conformation of the dragon. In the Apocalypse, he acts, not *simply*, but *through the medium of his borrowed members*: and those borrowed members, his seven heads and his ten horns, are the constituent parts of the Roman Empire; the ten horns and the last head being seated exclusively in the West. His angels or messengers, therefore, must be the Latin priesthood, who support the interest of the great demonolatrous Apostasy. Whence, conversely, the angels or messengers of Michael the archangel or chief messenger (who, from all the attributes ascribed to him, seems to be no other than Christ himself¹) will be the priesthood of those various Western Churches, which either (like the Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses) needed no reformation, or which (like the more modern protestant Churches) have carefully reformed themselves from the unscrip-

Treatise on the three Dispens. book i. chap. 7. § II. 1. vol. i. p. 365—380.

² See Bp. Horsley's Serm. vol. ii. serm. 29. p. 419—426.

tural doctrines and practices of the corrupt Latin communion.

This, then, being the character of the combatants in the figurative heaven or in the literal Church general of the Western Empire, the war in question will be a contest, between the Latin priesthood on the one side, and what in general terms may be styled the protestant priesthood on the other side : a contest, in the course of which many of the saints, though (like their divine Master upon the cross) spiritually victorious over Satan, suffer the death of the natural body by the brutal hand of persecution.

Yet a victory even of a different description is finally achieved : for the dragon is at length compelled, to descend from heaven, and to take his stand upon earth as affording him after his defeat a more suitable place for his future machinations against the faithful. This change of scene it is of the last importance to notice. The war itself is carried on in heaven : and heaven, agreeably to the character of the warriors engaged in it, apostates on the one hand and martyrs on the other, denotes the visible Church general limited in the present prophecy to the West. But the scene is afterward shifted to the earth : and the earth, throughout the whole Apocalypse, denotes the territorial Roman Empire. Still, however, the enmity of the dragon experiences no abatement. He again, as we shall hereafter see in the subsequent part of the prophecy, attacks the people of God from the earth, as he had heretofore attacked them from heaven.

His malice is the same, though the theatre of his operations is remarkably changed.

On these principles, therefore, the abstract purport of the hieroglyphic is plainly this.

Within the visible Church general of the Western Empire, which Satan finds during that particular period to be his most convenient stage for action, a struggle takes place, between an apostate priesthood on the one hand, and a faithful priesthood on the other hand. While it continues, the faithful are subjected, for the truth's sake, to much bitter persecution: but, through the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, they both *spiritually* conquer; and they also at length, partly by the diffusion of their principles and partly by some change in the temper of the times, so far *literally* conquer, that Satan is constrained, to relinquish the visible Western Church general as the field of warfare, and henceforth to carry on his attack from the secular Roman Empire as now affording him a more convenient and efficacious station for the purpose of annoyance.

2. Such is the abstract meaning of the hieroglyphic, when translated into plain language: our next business is that of historical application.

(1.) Our older expositors have, I believe, universally supposed the war between Michael and the dragon to shadow out the contest between Christianity and Paganism, which, in the reign of Constantine, closed with the defeat and ejection of the latter. Hence, as this war is spoken of *subsequent*

to the flight of the woman into the wilderness, which occurs at the commencement of the 1260 years: they are obliged, to invent the fiction of a *prolepsis*, and to contend that the woman's flight is mentioned by anticipation out of its regular chronological order.

But, even to say nothing respecting the prophet's evident determination of this war to the times of the 1260 years, the artful construction of the hieroglyphic itself is alone sufficient to confute the opinion of our more ancient interpreters.

The scene of the war is laid in heaven: and, *within* the self-same heaven, the combatants, whether on the part of Michael or on the part of the dragon, are *equally* stationed. Now heaven, when interpreted secularly, denotes the imperial powers of temporal government: and, when interpreted ecclesiastically, it denotes the Church general with reference to its governing powers¹. But, according to *neither* of these interpretations, can we place the Christians and the Pagans within the limits of the *same* heaven. For, antecedent to the time of Constantine, though the Pagans were in the secular heaven of temporal dominance, the oppressed and persecuted Christians were excluded from all participation of that heaven: and, though the oppressed and persecuted Christians were in the ecclesiastical heaven of the Church general, the unbelieving Pagans were obviously shut out from this

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.) (2.) .

ecclesiastical heaven by virtue of their very unbelief itself. Hence, if by the angels of Michael we are to understand the primitive Christians, and if by the angels of the dragon we are to understand the pagan Romans anterior to the reign of Constantine (as Mr. Mede, and others contend); we shall find it utterly impossible to place these two distinct classes of agents, where the express terms of the prophecy require us to place them, within the limits of *one* and the *same* heaven. Such being the case, let the respective angels of Michael and the dragon mean what they may, they clearly *cannot* denote the primitive Christians and the pagan Romans anterior to the time of Constantine.

Thus does the very construction of the hieroglyphic, no less than the plain untortured chronology of the prediction, require us to seek for the events, to which the heavenly war relates, within the period of the 1260 years. To this period we are referred by the prophecy itself, in its plain and natural acceptation: and, in this period alone, when Christianity was universally established throughout the entire Latin Empire, can we find any series of events corresponding with the purport of the hieroglyphic. For, as the prophecy refers us to the period of the 1260 years: so the hieroglyphic, by its very composition, teaches us to look for a series of struggles, on account of religion, between apostate Christian pastors and faithful Christian pastors, within the limits of *one* and the *same* figurative heaven, or within the limits of *one* and the *same* Western

Church general ; struggles, which should be marked by a bloody persecution of the latter, but which should at length mainly cease, from the circumstance of the visible Western Church being no longer found a suitable stage for effective opposition to the truth.

(2.) The confutation of error has almost saved me the trouble of formally setting forth, what I conceive to be, the genuine application of the war in heaven.

So long as Satan found the apostate Church, over which the man of sin presided, a convenient engine for persecuting the faithful followers of Christ : just so long he took his stand in it, and employed an apostate priesthood as the fittest instrument of waging war against the saints of God. Hence originated all the horrors of those bloody persecutions, which so eminently characterised the dark succession of the middle ages. In every country throughout western Europe, the rage of Satan, as carried into effect by his ministers, was written in characters of blood and fire. But strength from above was given to *our brethren*, in the presence of their malignant accuser ; who, as of old under Paganism, delighted to charge them with promiscuous fornication, infanticide, atheism, manichæism, and even bestiality : so that they overcame him with the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, loving not their lives unto death.

This state of things continued, with more or less

violence, until the close of the seventeenth century and the termination of the second woe ; when a new scene began to open upon the world. Protestantism was now securely planted in all the north of Europe : and, by a gradual revolution in the sentiments of men, direct persecution for conscience sake, even in papalising countries, became (if I may use the expression), with some trifling exceptions, *unfashionable*. This change of opinion has increased more and more down to the present day : insomuch that, although the two ancient witnessing Churches still prophesy in sackcloth, our reason and our humanity are no longer shocked to hear of attempts to convert the souls of pretended heretics by the application of fire to their bodies. In the hieroglyphical language of prophecy, Satan and his angels have been cast out of heaven. The dominant Church general has ceased to be, what once it was, the most convenient station, whence he might wage war against the angels of Michael. He has therefore yielded to circumstances, and has wisely chosen a different position ; well knowing, that the altered temper of the times required an altered mode of attack. But, if we refer to history, we shall assuredly find, that the time, when he relinquished his old station in heaven, and when the figurative war in that specific region was brought to a close, must have been about the end of the seventeenth century : at which time, the earthquake of the English revolution finally threw down a tenth part of the great city, the two witnessing Churches

were restored to life, and the woe of the Turkish horsemen passed away.

On account both of this victory and of the spiritual victories of the faithful martyrs who loved not their lives unto death, the heavens and they that dwell in them are called upon to rejoice. Here, if I mistake not, the plural form is employed, because the many distinct heavens or Churches of the reformed, each a mansion in the general heaven or the visible Western Church, are the communities alluded to. Such I conceive to be the most easy and natural interpretation of the passage: but, if any person choose to understand the expression indefinitely, let him by all means reject it.

III. We now come to the third clause of the prophecy, which describes the consequences of the dragon's descent from heaven to earth.

Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and the sea! For the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time. And, when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he still persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child (Now to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time and two times and half a time from the face of the serpent¹).

¹ This idea is manifestly taken from that of Exodus, wherein the sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness from the face of the Egyptians is described precisely after the same manner, as the sojourn of the woman in the spiritual wilderness from the

And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman: and the earth opened her mouth; and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth¹.

Still following the same plan which I have hitherto done, I shall begin with ascertaining the abstract import of this passage, and I shall then seek for the accomplishment of it in the page of history.

1. After the commencement of the latter 1260 years, Satan is described as warring in heaven with the angels of Michael: but the scene is now shifted from heaven to earth; and a new persecution takes place, no longer in the former, but on the latter. This persecution, however, not being carried on within heaven or the visible Western Church, must plainly be something of an essentially different nature from the war which preceded it. The woman is as much hated by Satan as ever she was: but, from a change in the temper of the times, he has discovered, that heaven or the Western Church is no longer a convenient military position; he has found, that sincere religion must be attacked on some other ground than that of heresy. Hence, perceiving himself cast out of heaven by the force of public opinion, he now takes his station upon

face of the serpent. *Ye have seen, what I did unto the Egyptians; and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself.* Exod. xix. 4.

¹ Rev. xii. 12—16.

the earth or the territorial Latin Empire : and, from that post, he begins a new attack upon the faithful, conducted on principles altogether different from those of his ancient ecclesiastical war.

The scene, as I have recently observed, was shifted from heaven to earth about the latter end of the seventeenth century ; when the second woe was brought to its termination, and when the third woe might now be expected quickly to succeed it ¹. Accordingly, in allusion to this third woe, a loud voice from heaven prophetically exclaims : *Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and the sea, for the devil is come down unto you.* The earth or the territorial Roman Empire, and the sea or the greatest nation of the Roman world in a state of efferescent revolution, were eminently to be the stage of the third woe ² : and, agreeably to this anticipation of it, when the third woe, which comprehends the seven vials, actually comes into operation, we find that the two first of the vials are poured out upon the very earth and the very sea, to which Satan descended when he was ejected from the mystical heaven ³.

Since, then, the earth denotes the territorial Roman Empire, and since the sea denotes the greatest nation of the Roman world in a state of revolu-

¹ Rev. xi. 14.

² For the grounds, on which the sea is pronounced to be the *greatest* nation of the Roman world, see below book vi. chap. 4. § II.

³ Rev. xvi. 1—3. See below book vi. chap. 4. § 1. II.

tionary effervescence; it will follow, that, when Satan quitted the mystical heaven, he took his station upon the secular Roman Empire in general but particularly upon the greatest nation of that Empire which under the third woe is destined to be convulsed by revolution. This is the new ground, which he selects for his new attack upon the woman; an attack of an essentially different nature from the war which he had hitherto waged in heaven or the Western Church. He casts out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. But the earth helps the woman, by swallowing up the flood which the dragon had vomited forth.

A flood is a large body of men in motion or in active operation. Thus it, sometimes, means an army of hostile invaders; while, at other times, it means a combination or conspiracy of wicked men. In the former sense, it is used by Daniel, when, speaking of the overthrow of the Hebrew Commonwealth by the invading army of the Romans, he says; *The end thereof shall be with a flood*¹: in the latter sense, it is used by David, when, speaking of his deliverance from the hand of his virulent domestic enemies, he says; *The floods of ungodly men made me afraid*². To the like purpose it is employed by Isaiah; *When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of*

¹ Dan. ix. 26.

² 2 Sam. xxii. 1, 5. Psalm xviii. 4.

*the Lord shall lift up a standard against him*¹: upon which passage it is well remarked by Cruden, that the violent assaults and sudden incursions of the devil and his instruments against the Church are compared to a flood.

The literal import, therefore, of the hieroglyphics, employed in the present clause of the prophecy, will be this.

When Satan, at the close of the seventeenth century, quitted the Western Church, the old station whence he had been accustomed to attack the faithful on the plea of heresy; he chose, for his new military position, the secular Roman Empire and especially the greatest nation of that Empire which under the third woe is destined to be convulsed by revolution. Here he vomits forth a conspiracy of wicked men; through the agency of which he hopes to sweep away the collective body of sound believers, so that their place should no more be found. But, contrary to his expectations, the secular Roman Empire absorbs, as dry sand absorbs water, the impious members of the conspiracy; so that, by means of this assistance, the collective body of sound believers remains firm in its original position, maugre the allegorical flood which beats upon it.

2. Such is the abstract import of the clause: let us now apply the prediction to history.

Prophetic symbols can only describe the *predo-*

¹ Isaiah lix. 19.

minating colour or complexion of any given period. Thus an attack from the visible Western Church on the plea of heresy was the predominating colour of the long period, which may be viewed as expiring with the seventeenth century: and thus an attack from out of the bosom of the secular Roman Empire conducted on infidel principles has been the predominating colour of the period, which may be viewed as commencing with the eighteenth century. But, according to strictly literal matter of fact, as time rolls along, the machinations of the dragon gradually and almost imperceptibly melt into each other. Thus some vestiges of secular infidelity may be traced, during the peculiar period of direct ecclesiastical persecution: and thus some relics of direct ecclesiastical persecution may be observed, during the peculiar period of secular infidelity. Yet the line of demarcation between the two periods, the period of the war in heaven and the period of the flood upon the earth, may be clearly enough discerned to pass through the close of the seventeenth century: and, as I have heretofore remarked, if, for the sake of establishing accurate prophetic dates, we require the precise year of its transit, I would specify the year 1697, when the second apocalyptic woe was brought to its predicted termination.

About this year, then, I would say, that, from out of the bosom of the secular Roman Empire, the dragon commenced, upon the woman, a regularly organised attack conducted on the principles

of direct infidelity. After an insulated manner, that pest, no doubt, had previously existed in Europe : but we now begin to perceive the regularity of *system* ; we now begin to perceive the traces of a *combination*, according more specifically with the allegorical flood, or (in plain language) with the conspiracy of impious men against the Gospel of Christ, which Satan is described as casting out of his mouth.

The rise and progress of secular infidelity I have already had occasion to trace very much at large : it were superfluous, therefore, to repeat, what has elsewhere been abundantly discussed¹. Suffice it to say, that, during all the earlier and middle part of the eighteenth century, a diabolical conspiracy of infidels and atheists, throughout the whole of the secular Roman Empire, was in active operation for the purpose of eradicating Christianity. This conspiracy, in regard to its nature and object, we at length beheld fully developed and consummated in the horrors of the French Revolution : when Jacobinism, that compound of united German and Gallican villainy, proposed to set mankind free from every restraint both human and divine, and to let them loose upon each other like a herd of infuriated wild beasts.

Such was the manner, in which Satan, quitting heaven for earth, and having great wrath because he knows that he has but a short time compared

¹ See above book iii. chap. 4. § III. 4.

with the duration of the two former woes, vomited forth, against the symbolical woman, a noisome flood of infidels and atheists and anarchists, in the hope that he might cause her to be carried away by the inundation¹. At the commencement of the third woe-trumpet, which (as we shall presently see) began to sound in the year 1789, the deluge of the ungodly was rapidly mounting to its permitted height: and it threatened to carry away, in wild indiscriminate confusion, every thing sacred and venerable, every thing salutary and dignified, every thing wise, every thing lovely, every thing that adorns this life, every thing that fits us for a better life. The spirit of the great predicted Antichrist, who should be known by his denial of the Father and the Son, was now palpably abroad in the world². Scarcely had the seventh angel begun to sound, and scarcely had the third woe commenced, when

¹ If my computation of the prophetic three times and a half be accurate, Satan's *short* season of permitted mischief, after his allegorical descent from heaven to earth, extends, from the year 1697, to the year 1865; thus comprising a term of no more than 168 years: but his *long* season of permitted mischief, while the figurative heaven was the stage of his machinations, extended, from the year 604 when the first woe commenced, to the year 1697 when the second woe passed away; thus comprising a term of no less than 1093 years.

On this principle it is, that Satan is said to have only a *short* time after his descent from heaven to earth: for, at the end of this *short* time, his allegorical binding takes place. Rev. xx. 1—3.

² See above book i. chap. 5.

revolutionary France, in the infidel phrenzy of democratic enthusiasm, violently established atheism and anarchy; held out the right hand of fellowship to the insurgents of every nation; massacred by thousands her enslaved citizens; proclaimed the Son of God to be an impostor; swore to exterminate Christianity and royalty from off the face of the earth, as she had blotted them both out of her own dominions; and madly unsheathed the sword of war against every regularly established government.

. But what was the result of this furious and systematic attack upon the religion of the Gospel? .

Agreeably to the prophecy, the earth helped the woman; and, like dry sand, swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth. On the part of the whole Roman Empire, a strong opposition was made to the anarchical and atheistical principles of the conspiracy. Many of its leading members perished in the storm, which they themselves had excited, and which they had vainly hoped to direct. A full trial had been made of antichristian philosophy: and it had been most tremendously proved to be little adapted for promoting the happiness of man. Its chief advocates sank into contempt and oblivion. They seemed, as it were, for a season to have vanished from off the face of the globe. The hands of the mystical woman, particularly in our own favoured island, were conspicuously strengthened: and the avowal of a resolution to exterminate Christianity was either

heard no more or had ceased to be any longer formidable.

IV. Nothing remains to be considered but the last clause of the prophecy, which exhibits the malice of the dragon as inextinguishable.

And the dragon was wroth with the woman : and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and which have the testimony of Jesus Christ ¹.

1. We may consider the flood to have been swallowed up, when the infidel government of France was subverted, when all Europe had set itself to oppose the antichristian conspiracy, and when the active chiefs of that nefarious system had all either perished or sunk into merited abhorrence and obscurity. The vision, however, of the dragon and the woman, agreeably both to the general plan of the little book and to its own direct specification of a fixed period, reaches to the end of the latter 1260 years. But the present clause is the concluding clause of the vision. Therefore it must relate to matters, which will be in a state of occurrence, from the time when the revolutionary government of France was subverted, down to the close of the latter 1260 years.

2. The purport of the clause now before us is manifestly this.

When the attempt to destroy the mystic woman, by the agency of the flood or antichristian conspi-

¹ Rev. xii. 17.

racy which the dragon vomited out of his mouth, had entirely failed ; the evil spirit abated nothing of his rancorous malice, but still continued to make war against the great collective body of the faithful who keep the commandments of God and who have the testimony of Jesus Christ : and this war, under one form or another, he ceases not to wage until the very end of the latter 1260 years.

3. With regard to the precise mode in which the war is conducted, whether by the agency of popery or of infidelity or of an unnatural combination of the two against the sincere Gospel of Christ, the prophecy is silent. The greatest part of what it predicts is as yet future : we must patiently, therefore, await the decisions of time, that best and most certain of all expositors. This only we know with positive assurance, that, in some form or other, war on the part of the dragon will be incessant until his figurative binding shall be accomplished ¹.

¹ Rev. xx. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE THIRD SECTION OF THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK, OR THE VISION OF THE TEN-HORNED BEAST OF THE SEA.

THE prophet, after having conducted us as it were behind the scenes, and after having shewn us that every string both of the great Apostasy and of the tyranny of Antichrist is in reality worked by the infernal serpent, next proceeds to bring us more closely acquainted with the characters of the external agents, by whose instrumentality and through whose instigation the saints of God, throughout the western peculium of the little Roman horn, should be worn out and harassed during the allotted period of the latter three times and a half.

These two external agents of the dragon are, a wild-beast with seven heads and ten horns which rises up out of the sea, and a wild-beast with two horns like a lamb which comes up out of the earth.

We are at present concerned with the first wild-beast, or the beast with seven heads and ten horns.

Of this wild-beast, the prophet presents us with two accounts, which serve mutually to explain each other, and which therefore must be discussed conjointly.

The first account constitutes the third section of

the little open book : and it is couched in the following terms.

I was stationed on the sand of the sea. And I saw a wild-beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. And the wild-beast, which I saw, was like unto a leopard ; and his feet were, as those of a bear ; and his mouth was, as the mouth of a lion : and the dragon gave him his own power and his own throne and great authority. And I saw one of his heads, as slaughtered to death : and the stroke of his death was healed : and the whole earth wondered behind the wild-beast. And they worshipped the dragon, because he gave power unto the wild-beast : and they worshipped the wild-beast, saying ; Who is like to the wild-beast, and who is able to make war with him ? And there was given to him a mouth, speaking great things and blasphemies : and there was given to him power to make war during forty two months¹. And he opened his mouth for blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle and those who dwell in heaven. And it was given to him to make war with the saints and to conquer them : and power was given to him over every tribe and people and language and nation. And all that

¹ Gr. ποιῆσαι πόλεμον, according to some copies ; according to others, simply ποιῆσαι, to act ; according to others, πολεμῆσαι, to make war.

dwell upon the earth, whose name has not been written in the book of life of the Lamb slaughtered from the foundation of the world, shall worship him. If any one have an ear, let him hear. If any one lead into captivity, into captivity he goeth: if any one shall slay with the sword, it is necessary that he should be slain with the sword. Thus is the patience and the faith of the saints¹.

The second account will be found in a subsequent portion of the larger sealed book.

There came one of the seven angels, who had the seven vials; and talked with me, saying: Come hither; and I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great harlot, who sitteth upon the many waters; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with the wine of her whoredom the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunken. And he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness. And I saw a woman seated upon a scarlet-coloured wild-beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus: and, having seen her, I wondered a great wonder. And the angel said unto me: Wherefore didst thou wonder? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of that which carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and

¹ Rev. xiii. 1—10.

the ten horns. The wild-beast, which thou sawest, was, and is not, and is about to ascend out of the abyss and to go into destruction. And they that dwell upon the earth shall wonder, whose names are not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, when they shall see the wild-beast, that he was, and is not, and yet is. Thus is the mind, that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth : they are also seven kings. Five have fallen, and one is, and the other hath not yet come ; and, when he cometh, he must continue a short space : and, in reference to the wild-beast that was, and is not, he is also an eighth, and yet he is of the seven¹ : and he goeth into destruction². And the ten

¹ Gr. ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐστι. The meaning is, that the eighth king should be some one of the preceding seven : so that, although there might be *nominally* and *chronologically* an eighth king, there should *truly* be no more than seven, the eighth being one of the preceding seven revived.

² Gr. Αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαὶ ὅρη εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν· καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτὰ εἰσιν. Οἱ πέντε ἔπεσον, καὶ ὁ εἷς ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος οὐπω ἦλθε· καὶ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ, ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μένειν· καὶ, τὸ θηρίον ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἐστι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοος ἐστι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐστι, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει.

Our common English translation, which has been followed (I believe) by every interpreter, refers the pronoun αὐτὸς to the antecedent *θηρίον* : and thence exhibits the prophecy as saying ; *The beast, that was and is not, even he, namely the beast, is the eighth.*

No doubt, the Greek, according to a very common idiom of the language which makes a pronoun agree in gender with the substantive that follows instead of the substantive that precedes,

*horns, which thou sawest, are ten kings; which have not yet received their royalty, but which in one hour receive power as kings conjointly with the wild-beast*¹. *These have one counsel, and they give their power and their authority unto the wild-beast.* *These shall make war with the Lamb: and the Lamb shall overcome them (for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings), and*

will bear such a version: but zoölogical consistency shews very plainly, that such cannot be the *proper* version; because it ascribes to the angel the contradictory assertion, that the whole body of the wild-beast is his last head when appearing in the character of the eighth king. Hence I suppose τὸ θηρίον to be governed of the preposition κατὰ understood; and refer the pronoun αὐτός, through the conjunction καὶ, to the antecedent ὁ ἄλλος.

According, therefore, to this grammatical arrangement, the prophecy teaches us: that, in the days of St. John, *THE OTHER king is not yet come; and, when he cometh, he must continue a short space; and HE is also an eighth king (in reference to the wild-beast that was and is not), and yet he is one of the seven.* In other words, the seventh king is an eighth king, with reference to the beast that was and is not: because the beast, in his predicted state of reëxistence, will ascend out of the abyss under an eighth king who is the seventh king revived or restored.

¹ Gr. Ἐξουσίαν, ὡς βασιλεῖς, μίαν ὥραν, λαμβάνουσι μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. The original does not mean, as an incautious reader might easily conclude from our common English translation, that the ten kings should receive regal power *synchronously* with the beast, or that they and the beast should receive regal power *about the same chronological era*: but it means, that the ten kings, synchronically with each other, should receive regal power *in conjunction with* the beast, who himself had long reigned prior to the rise of the ten horns.

they who are with him called and chosen and faithful. And he saith unto me: The waters, which thou sawest, where the harlot is seated, are peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues. And the ten horns which thou sawest, and the wild-beast, these shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall utterly burn her in the fire: for God hath put into their hearts to perform his counsels, and to agree, and to give their dominion to the wild-beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman, whom thou sawest, is that great city, which has the sovereignty over the kings of the earth¹.

I. By the unanimous consent of commentators, whether they be ancient or modern, popish or protestant, however they may differ in subordinate particulars, the seven-headed and ten-horned beast of the Apocalypse is pronounced to be substantially the same as the fourth and ten-horned beast of Daniel. But the ten-horned beast of Daniel is indisputably the Roman Empire². Therefore the seven-headed and ten-horned beast of the Apocalypse must be the Roman Empire likewise.

Of this symbolical wild-beast, Daniel does not mention the seven heads; nor does he specially define his form; nor yet does he give us any direct verbal intimation, as to the Empire with which he

¹ Rev. xvii. •

² See above book iii. chap. 2. § IV.

is to be identified : he only observes, that he represented the fourth great kingdom upon earth, that he was dreadful and terrible and strong, and that he was different from all the beasts that were before him. But St. John amply supplies any such deficiency, which might be imputed to the elder prophet : for he informs us, that the wild-beast, which he beheld, had not only the ten horns mentioned by Daniel, but that he had likewise seven heads ; that his shape was compounded of all the three beasts which preceded him, both the Babylonian lion and the Medo-Persian bear and the Macedonian leopard, inasmuch as the Roman Empire comprehended within its utmost limits the dominions of all the three former Empires ; and that he was governed by that seven-hilled great city, which, in the time of the Apostle, reigned over the kings of the earth, a description which unequivocally identifies him with the Empire of Rome.

The seven-headed and ten-horned beast, then, of the Apocalypse, like Daniel's metallic image when viewed geographically, is the Roman Empire in its greatest extent : but, as the West is the special subject of the little open book, this wild-beast must be viewed, throughout the present vision, only as exerting himself in the West or in the region occupied by his ten horns.

II. Nor is the first wild-beast of the Apocalypse the Roman Empire only in its greatest extent, when considered *geographically* : he also represents the

same Empire from its first rise to its final dissolution, when viewed *chronologically*.

As Daniel beheld *all* the four symbolical wild-beasts of his vision, and therefore of course the last or Roman beast, come up from the troubled waters of the great sea or (in unfigured language) out of the midst of nations agitated by war and revolution¹: so John, in a similar manner, beheld the seven-headed and ten-horned beast of *his* vision, which answers to the ten-horned beast of Daniel, rise up out of the same allegorical sea of violence and bloodshed².

This circumstance appears to have been so carefully mentioned by the latter prophet, partly as a note by which the two wild-beasts might be identified, and partly as a mark by which the chronological duration of the apocalyptic beast might be ascertained.

1. With respect to the first object which St. John had in view when he mentioned this circumstance, the fact of the apocalyptic wild-beast's emergence from the sea constitutes a very decisive note by which he may be identified with the ten-horned beast of Daniel.

As each of these beasts is decorated with ten horns; and as each is said to tyrannise over the saints, through the agency of a second well-defined Power, during the same period of three prophetic

¹ Dan. vii. 2, 3.

² Rev. xiii. 1.

times and a half or 42 months or 1260 days : so to each is assigned the very same origin ; for each is declared to have come up from the waters of the troubled sea.

Such various points of coincidence cannot belong to two different and unconnected symbols : jointly, therefore, they establish, beyond a possibility of dispute, the identity of the two ten-horned wild-beasts.

2. But the second and chief object, which St. John had in view when he mentioned the emergence of the apocalyptic wild-beast from the sea, was, to give us a decisive mark by which his chronological continuance might be ascertained ; a matter, nevertheless, respecting which a gross error has been very generally prevalent.

The emergence of the ten-horned wild-beast, which Daniel beheld, can only denote, as all commentators agree, the rise of the Roman Empire under its martial founder Romulus. Hence, by every rule of consistent interpretation, the exactly similar emergence of the self-same ten-horned wild-beast, which St. John beheld, must denote the self-same circumstance also. But, if, in the emergence of the ten-horned wild-beast, St. John beheld the rise of the Roman Empire under Romulus ; then the symbol before us must chronologically denote the Roman Empire, from its earliest rise to its final dissolution.

(1.) Accordingly, the construction of the symbol itself imperiously requires this arrangement ; and

absolutely forbids us to fix the emergence of the ten-horned beast to the commencement of the latter 1260 years, though the present vision treats of his exploits only during the lapse of that period.

The configuration of the symbol, compounded as it is of the Babylonian lion and the Medo-Persian bear and the Macedonian leopard, demonstrates it to represent the Roman Empire as extending to its utmost limits. But the Empire had attained those limits considerably before the commencement of the latter 1260 years. Therefore the emergence, beheld by St. John, must plainly be anterior to the commencement of that period.

Nor is this the only proof of the point in question. The ten-horned wild-beast of the Apocalypse is declared to have seven heads: and the interpreting angel assures St. John, that, at the time when the Apostle flourished, five of those heads had already fallen, and that one was then in actual existence. Hence it is clear, that the wild-beast must have emerged from the sea long before the birth of St. John, and consequently much more long before the commencement of the latter 1260 years.

(2.) The very reason, indeed, of the thing is abundantly sufficient to decide the matter.

If the ten-horned beast of the Apocalypse be the Roman Empire, as all are agreed, it is utterly impossible to shew, how that Empire, with all its seven successive heads and with all its ten contem-

poraneous horns, could have emerged from the great allegorical sea of bloodshed and violence at the commencement of the latter 1260 years. The parallel vision of Daniel unequivocally teaches us, what we are to understand by the emergence of the Roman beast from the sea: no one ever doubted, that by that emergence was meant the rise of the Roman Empire.^a Clearly, then, the emergence beheld by St. John, which by no ingenuity can be made to synchronise with the commencement of the latter 1260 years, must be the very emergence beheld by Daniel. But, in that case, St. John, like Daniel, will have hieroglyphically beheld the rise of the Roman Empire under Romulus: and, consequently, the symbol, which he employs, will represent the Roman Empire from first to last; though, in the present vision, he treats only of its exploits during the latter 1260 years and on the platform of its western division.

(3.) The common erroneous notion, that the emergence of the wild-beast beheld by St. John is to be placed either at or about the commencement of the 1260 years, seems to have arisen from a vague and hasty assumption, that the emergence in question must have been seen by him *prophetically* or *prospectively*. But it is clear, that he could not have seen the rise of the Empire under Romulus *prophetically*. Whence it was concluded, that the emergence, which he beheld, could not be the *long prior* rise of the Empire under Romulus; but that

it must be some rise of whatever unintelligible nature, which took place *at* or *about* the commencement of the 1260 years.

Now the whole of this inconclusive reasoning is obviously built upon the tacit assumption, that *nothing save prophetic matter can be introduced into a prophetic vision*. Whence it seems to have been hastily argued, that the emergence of the Roman beast which Daniel beheld *may* justly be deemed the rise of the Empire under Romulus, because Daniel could behold that rise *prospectively*; but that the emergence of the same Roman beast which St. John beheld *cannot* justly be deemed the rise of the Empire under Romulus, because St. John could not have beheld that rise *prospectively*.

I know not, that such an argument has ever been *directly* propounded: but I suspect, that it *tacitly* forms the basis of the common opinion relative to the chronological epoch of the emergence beheld by St. John.

Be this, however, as it may, the circumstance of the Apostle's living *posterior* to the rise of the Roman Empire under Romulus is no reason why he should not *retrospectively* behold it at the commencement even of a *prophetic* vision. For what was the case with Daniel? Did he in truth behold, as many seem to have taken for granted, the rise of the Roman Empire *prospectively*, when he beheld the emergence of its symbol from the troubled sea? Nothing of the sort: he beheld it *retrospectively*, just as I contend that St. John beheld it.

Daniel saw his vision of the four great beasts about the year before Christ 555 : but Rome was founded, according to Varro, in the year before Christ 753 ; or, according to Fabius Pictor, in the year before Christ 748 ; or, even according to Sir Isaac Newton's reduced analogical computation of the reigns of the seven Roman kings, about the year before Christ 627. Hence, whatever may be the true era of Rome's foundation, Daniel, if we reckon from the time when he saw the vision of the four beasts, must have beheld the rise of the Roman beast *retrospectively*, though he viewed his exploits during the latter 1260 years *prospectively*. But, if the circumstance of *retrospectiveness* be no solid reason, why the emergence of the ten-horned beast, as beheld by Daniel, should not denote the rise of the Roman Empire under Romulus : then neither can it be any solid reason, why the emergence of the same ten-horned beast, as beheld by St. John, should not equally denote the first rise of the same Empire. In truth, this retrospection, though in absolute strictness it forms no part of the present prophetic vision, was plainly required by historical decorum : for the narrative of the Apostle were incomplete and defective, if so important a symbol had been brought upon the stage without the least intimation whence it originated.

The Roman beast does, indeed, rise a second time from the abyss or from the sea under his eighth king, who is one of his preceding seven kings : but this second rise, which takes place after

his political extinction by the mortal wound inflicted upon his seventh head, is very clearly distinguished from the rise, which St. John beheld at the commencement of the present vision. For the second rise succeeds the death of the short-lived seventh head, and immediately precedes the final destruction of the beast: whereas the rise, which St. John beheld at the commencement of the present vision, precedes the whole period of the 42 prophetic months, and is therefore many ages prior to his final irremediable destruction ¹.

III. Having now shewn that the ten-horned wild-beast of the Apocalypse is the Roman Empire in its greatest geographical extent and in its entire chronological duration, I proceed to consider the seven heads by which the portent is so conspicuously distinguished.

1. In the symbol itself, the Apostle beholds all the seven heads existing together; nor perhaps was it possible for the hieroglyphic to be any other wise constructed: but, from the verbal interpretation of it, we learn, that, although the seven forms of supreme government, represented by the seven heads, may, after a certain manner, have been partially synchronical; yet, from their respective chronological rise to their respective chronological fall, they were not perfectly so: for, in the time of St. John, five had already fallen, one was then in actual existence, and another was still future.

¹ Compare Rev. xvii. 8, 11, with xiii. 1, 5.

On this point, it will be necessary to acquire some clear ideas : because, otherwise, in consequence of the many political variations which occurred in the frame of the Roman Commonwealth, we shall find it difficult to make out a statement altogether satisfactory.

By any given nation any particular form of government may be adopted. Now that particular form may be succeeded by another form, without the first form *itself* becoming absolutely extinct : because, at any future period, the first form may be readopted ; and it may thus take place of the form, which had previously taken place of *it*. But, if the first form be so followed by another form, that it *never* is readopted : *then*, of course, it becomes absolutely extinct ; or, in the language of prophecy, *then* it is irrecoverably fallen.

According to the first supposition, then, a form of government is not extinguished by the mere circumstance of its being for a season laid aside. In such a case, it only remains in abeyance, or lies in a dormant state of temporary quiescence. Consequently, under *this* aspect, two or more forms of government may be viewed as existing synchronically ; though one only, at once, can be in a state of active operation.

But, when, according to the second supposition, a form falls to rise no more ; then it ceases to exist synchronically with the dominant or active form, even in a state of temporary quiescence.

Agreeably to such principles, if a bestial symbol

be constructed to represent this condition of affairs, we may suppose, that one head of the animal, thus hieroglyphically employed, will appear to be awake, while certain other heads will seem to be asleep : and we may further suppose, still on the same principles, that, after sundry vicissitudes of activity and quiescence, this head and that head will appear to sink into a state of absolute death ; until at length, to a spectator at some given period, three or four or five of the heads will appear to be hanging down irrecoverably dead or extinct.

Such being the case, if the symbol were constructed with seven heads for the purpose of representing an Empire which had subsisted or which might subsist under seven different forms of government, it is obvious, that, when *all* the heads should have fallen into a state of death, the Empire itself must be viewed as politically extinct : for, otherwise, the symbol would exhibit the strange zoölogical anomaly of an animal continuing to live, though all its heads were dead and insensible.

This view of the matter will be found perfectly applicable to the Roman Empire, as exhibited to us under the symbol of a wild-beast with seven heads.

The Consulate might be succeeded by the Dictatorship ; and the Dictatorship, by the Consulate : the Decemvirate and the Military Tribuneship might respectively occupy the place of the Consulate ; and the Consulate, awaking from its temporary quiescence, might again become the ruling

head of the Commonwealth: but no one of those heads can be deemed extinct, until it had finally and irrevocably fallen. Now the Apostle informs us, that, in *his* day, precisely five out of the seven heads had thus irrevocably fallen or had thus become finally extinct. Two only, therefore, could have appeared to him alive at the epoch when he beheld the symbol: the one, awake, and actually ruling; the other, asleep, not having as yet by the lapse of time been brought into a state of dominant activity. Time, however, rolls on: and the ruling head of *his* day irrecoverably falls in *its* turn. No head now remains alive, save the seventh; which forthwith awakes or rises up to a condition of active dominānce. But this last head, which is to continue only a short space, instead of falling into simple extinction or instead of dying what we may call a natural death, is violently slain by a stroke of the sword. What, then, is the result of such a catastrophè? Clearly, *all* the seven heads being now daed, the wild-beast himself must die: or the Empire, represented by the wild-beast, must sink, having no longer a supreme dominant government, into a state of political non-entity.

Accordingly we find, that this death, or (as the interpreting angel literally terms it) this state of political non-existence, is distinctly mentioned and announced in the prophecy: but, at the same time, the revival or the political reëxistence of the Empire is no less distinctly foretold; and that circumstance is foretold, we may observe, exactly on the

zoölogical principle which is here laid down. By the violent slaughter of the seventh or the finally sole living head, the wild-beast sinks into death : by the healing of the deadly wound inflicted upon that finally sole living head, the wild-beast revives. The seventh form of government, which had been overturned by the sword of apparently foreign violence, is restored, nominally as an eighth form, but really as the self-same seventh form ; for the wild-beast has, in truth, no more than seven heads : and then the Empire, ascending anew from the abyss or the sea, is restored to life or to political existence ¹.

2. Such, if I mistake not, is the zoönomical, rationalè of the seven heads : we must next establish the principle of their historical appropriation.

When St. John marvels at the extraordinary aspect and the persecuting temper of the wild-beast, the hierophantic angel undertakes to explain the mystery. The seven heads, he teaches him, have a two-fold signification : they are the seven mountains, on which the woman who rides the wild-beast is seated ; and they are also seven kings, who should successively rule the body of the wild-beast as the head of any animal rules the natural body.

Now the woman, we are told, is that great city, which in the time of the Apostle reigned over the kings of the earth : in other words, the woman is Rome ; for no other city answers to such a description. Hence the seven mountains, which the seven

¹ Compare Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14, with xvii. 8—11.

heads primarily symbolise, are doubtless the far-famed seven hills upon which imperial Rome was founded : and they are thus mentioned, I apprehend, partly for the purpose of enabling us unequivocally to identify the hieroglyphic by an universally familiar characteristic, and partly to secure us from the mistake (into which some commentators have nevertheless fallen) of seeking the seven kings or polities, which the seven heads secondarily symbolise, elsewhere than in the Roman Empire ; for, if the seven heads primarily represent the seven hills of *Rome*, it were strangely incongruous to imagine, that the seven kings, which they secondarily represent, can be any other than seven *Roman* polities ¹.

¹ Yet certain writers have contended, in defiance of the obvious purport of the angel's exposition, that, as the Roman Empire swallowed up its three predecessors, some of the seven heads are the heads of the Babylonian and the Medo-Persian and the Macedonian wild-beasts. Thus, in the vision of Daniel, the Babylonian beast has one head ; the Medo-Persian beast has one head ; the Macedonian beast has four heads ; and the Roman beast has one head. Now the sum total of these heads is seven. These, consequently, are the seven heads of the apocalyptic wild-beast, which represents the Roman Empire when it had swallowed up all the other three Empires.

To say nothing of the impossibility of making any such scheme accord with the language of the interpreting angel, which declares, that, in the time of St. John, five of the heads had fallen, one then existed, and another was still future : it is manifest, that all schemes of this description are irreconcilable with the purport of the *double* type. If the seven heads are *primarily* seven *Roman* mountains ; the seven kings, which

But the seven heads are not only seven mountains ; they are likewise and principally seven kings : that is to say, agreeably to the Hebrew idiom, they are seven regalities or seven forms of supreme government¹.

Such being the case, these seven forms must, on the one hand, politically differ, in some respects, from each other ; as monarchy differs from democracy, and as democracy differs from aristocracy : for, without some political difference of constitution, there plainly could not be seven *distinct* forms. Yet, on the other hand, the seven forms must be *homogeneous* or *of one species* ; as monarchy and democracy and aristocracy are all homogeneous forms of government, because they are all equally *secular* forms as opposed to a *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical* form : for, unless the prophet expressly teach us that they are NOT homogeneous, we can have no right, for the mere purpose of framing a system, gratuitously to depart from the obvious and sound principle of homogeneity².

they *secondarily* represent, must, unless analogy be completely violated, be seven *Roman* politics.

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 2. (1.)

² The ground of this rule is well exemplified, by the management observable in Daniel's vision of the four beasts.

He tells us, that the Roman beast put forth ten horns, or that ten kingdoms sprang up within the limits of the Western Roman Empire : and, between these ten horns, *no specific difference* is stated to subsist. Hence, as all commentators practically acknowledge, ten *homogeneous* kingdoms must be in-

On this principle, then, I contend, that all the seven heads of the Roman wild-beast must be *homogeneous* or *of one species*. St. John simply tells us that the hieroglyphic in question *had* seven heads : he gives us not the slightest hint, that any one of those heads was *specifically different* from its fellows. Hence, whatever be the specific nature of *one* head, such also must be the specific nature of the *other* heads. Consequently, by the vital principle of homogeneity which can never be too much insisted upon in the interpretation of prophecy, if *one* head be secular, *all* the heads must be secular ; and, conversely, if *one* head be spiritual, *all* the heads must be spiritual.

3. These principles of exposition having been laid down and established, we shall now be prepared to inquire from history, *what* seven homogeneous forms of supreme Roman government

tended : and, accordingly, their historical antitypes are allowed to be the ten *secular* kingdoms founded by the ten Gothic nations.

But, in the midst of the ten secular kingdoms, sprang up an eleventh little horn or kingdom : which he declares to be *specifically different* from the ten first kingdoms. Hence we are fully warranted in pronouncing, that the eleventh kingdom is *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical*, while the other ten kingdoms are all *secular*.

Yet, *unless* the eleventh had been declared to be *specifically different* from the other ten, we should, under such circumstances, I think, have been compelled, by the principle of homogeneity, to pronounce the eleventh kingdom a *secular* kingdom like all its ten fellows.

are intended by the seven heads of the wild-beast.

The Apostle teaches us, by the declaration of the interpreting angel, that, in his time, one of these heads was in actual existence, that five had antecedently fallen, and that another was yet future.

Now, in the time of the Apostle, the Roman Emperorship was the polity in actual existence. Hence we may be certain, that the Roman Emperorship is the head, which the Apostle characterises by the words *One is*, and which history teaches us to have been then the supreme form of Roman government.

But the Apostle further declares, that five other heads had antecedently fallen.

Here, in comparing his declaration with the testimony of history, we are encountered by an apparent difficulty: for St. John states, that only *five* heads had fallen; but history, upon the first inspection of it, seems to intimate, that *six* supreme forms of Roman government had become extinct. These six are enumerated by Tacitus, as the Kingship, the Consulate, the Dictatorship, the Decemvirate, the Military Tribunate, and the Triumvirate: and, after he has enumerated them, he remarks, that the second Triumvirate terminated in the sole rule of Augustus, who, with the title of *Prince*, reduced all things under the Emperorship¹. Thus it might

¹ Urbem Romam, a principio, (1.) *Reges* habuere. Libertatem et (2.) *Consulatum* L. Brutus instituit. (3.) *Dictaturæ* ad tempus sumebantur: neque (4.) *Decemviralis Potestas*

seem, that, according to St. John's statement, *five* heads only had fallen when the Emperorship was established : while, according both to the accurate specification of Tacitus and to absolute matter of fact, *six* forms of supreme government had already at that period become extinct.'

It is somewhat remarkable, that neither Mr. Mede nor Bishop Newton should have taken the least notice of this difficulty. Each, without assigning any reason, altogether omits the Triumvirate : a process, which does indeed reduce the antecedent heads to *five*, but which does not the more on that account solve the historical difficulty before us¹.

ultra biennium, neque (5.) *Tribunorum Militum Consulare Jus* diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ, longa dominatio : et (6.) *Pompeii Crassique potentia, cito ad Cæsarem ; Lepidi atque Antonii arma, in Augustum, cessere* : qui cuncta, discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine *Principis*, sub *Imperium* accepit. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. § 1.

In this enumeration of Roman politics, it may be proper to remark, that *the rule of Cinna or of Sylla* was no new form of government : for Cinna was only *Consul*, and Sylla bore nothing more than the familiar title of *Dictator*. Hence, according to Tacitus, there had been *six* distinct politics before the establishment of the *Princedom* or *Emperorship* by Augustus Cesar.

¹ Mede's Comment. Apoc. par. ii. Oper. p. 524. Bp. Newton's Diss. on the Proph. diss. xxv. vol. iii. p. 285, 286.

In his appeal to Livy and to Tacitus, for the purpose of shewing that exactly *five* forms of Roman government had subsisted and had fallen previous to the establishment of the *Emperorship* by Augustus, Bishop Newton is peculiarly infelicitous. Livy is nothing to his purpose : and Tacitus, as we have seen above, is directly against him.

Mr. Lowman, more equitably, notices the difficulty in question : but his attempt to escape from it strikes upon my own apprehension as quite unsatisfactory. *The Triumvirates*, says he somewhat drily, *were states of confusion, rather than forms of government*¹. That the triumphers, in each case, exercised a sway most highly barbarous and tyrannical, is not denied : but it is difficult to perceive, how *that* circumstance can deprive the two successive Triumvirates of their political character².

I. In regard to Livy, that historian does indeed enumerate *only* five forms ; for he omits the *Triumvirate*, which is accurately specified by Tacitus : but the *reason* of such omission distinctly appears in the very passage itself, as quoted by the Bishop.

With perfect truth, Livy tells us, that, from the foundation of the city *down to the time when it was captured by the Gauls*, precisely *five* forms of polity had subsisted. To these *five* forms, for a most abundantly sufficient reason, he adds not the *Triumvirate*. That *sixth* form of polity did not start into existence, until long *after* the Gauls had captured the city.

Quæ, ab condita urbe Roma AD CAPTAM EANDEM URBEM, Romani sub (1.) *Regibus* primum, (2.) *Consulibus* deinde ac (3.) *Dictatoribus*, (4.) *Decemvirisque* ac (5.) *Tribunis Consularibus*, gesserunt. Liv. Hist. lib. iv. § 1.

II. Tacitus, on the contrary, who is enumerating the several forms of Roman government, not merely (like Livy) *down to the capture of the city by the Gauls*, but *down to the establishment of the Emperorship by Augustus*, adds the *Triumvirate* to the *five* forms mentioned by Livy as being anterior to the Gallic invasion, and thus intimates the existence of *six* forms previous to the establishment of the *Roman Emperorship* or *Princedom*.

¹ Lowman's Paraph. p. 257.

² We might as well, on the same principle, deny the Decemvirate to be a Roman head.

A form of supreme Roman government they most assuredly constituted : and, if (what, however, may well be doubted) the unlegalised usurpation of the *first* Triumvirate might be thought to deprive it of the character of a head, no such objection presents itself to the claims of the *second* Triumvirate ; for the supreme government of Antony and Lepidus and Octavian was, by a specific law, regularly established and ratified. Than that law, so far as its terms are concerned, nothing can be more explicit and more unambiguous. *The Roman people, lawfully assembled, have thought fit to appoint three persons to govern the Commonwealth with consular power. These are Marcus Antonius, Marcus Lepidus, and Cesar Octavianus: whose authority shall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the space of five years* ¹. Thus, both from matter of fact, and from the positive declaration of Tacitus, we are compelled, I think, to admit, that the Triumvirate was a distinct head or a supreme form of Roman government.

How, then, it will be asked, are we to reconcile the statement in the Apocalypse with the voice of history ?

To this question I reply, that the difference is “*apparent*, not *real*. Mr. Mede, and those who have followed him, omitting the Triumvirate, make the Kingship one of those five heads, which, in the

¹ Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 353. The authorities, adduced by the authors, are Appian, Dio, Florus, and Plutarch.

time of the Apostle, had *fallen* or had *become extinct*. But, in truth, the kingly head, so far from having *fallen*, had then, after a sleep or quiescence of several centuries, recently *awaked* in the full vigour of renewed action. The King, or the Emperor, or (as Tacitus calls that great functionary) the Prince, or (as the Greeks indifferently denominated both the early kings and the later Emperors) the Basileus, was, at whatever period he might preside over the Roman Commonwealth, one and the same political individual¹. For, whether we say

¹ As I contend for the political identity of the Roman Kingship and the Roman Emperorship, it may be proper to substantiate by evidence the remark advanced in the text. •

From a sort of childish fastidiousness, the Romans never gave to their Emperor the precise title of *Rex* or *King*, though their politicians must have perceived the perfect civil identity of the two appellations: but the Greeks, who were influenced by no such whimsical scruples, and who plainly saw that the Emperor of the Romans was no other than the King of the Romans, indifferently bestowed upon that high functionary, from the very apostolic age down to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the various parallel names of *Autocrator*, *Hegemon*, *Monarcha*, *Sebastus*, *Augustus*, and *Basileus* or *King*; while the Empire itself they variously denominated the *Archè* or *Sovereignty* and the *Basilèa* or *Kingdom*.

I. Such, accordingly, in regular succession downward, is the phraseology of St. Peter, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Origen, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria. With them, the Empire is the Kingdom: and the reigning Emperor is the King. See 1 Peter ii. 13—17. Justin. Apol. i. vulg. ii. Oper. p. 47, 50, 79. Athen. Legat. § i; xiii, xxxi. p. 1, 55, 138. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. ii. p. 79. Athan. Apol. ad Imp. Constan. Oper. vol. i.

the King of the Romans or the Emperor of the Romans, we mean indifferently the potentate, who,

p. 526, 530, 531, 533, 538, 545. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. i. p. 2, 3, 4.

II. The same style was used by the Emperors themselves, when they employed the Greek language as the medium of communication.

This circumstance is sufficiently demonstrated by the phraseology of Julian : who, himself both an Emperor and the kinsman of Emperors, well knew the courtly proprieties of autocratorial nomenclature.

Thus, in his first oration addressed to the Emperor Constantius, he accosts him in the terms, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ and ὦ βασιλεῦ : remarks, that all his kinsmen before him were βασιλεῖς : compliments him, on being at once an excellent orator and a βασιλεὺς χρηστόν : and styles the Empire, over which he presided, the βασιλείαν. Orat. i. ad Imp. Constan. Oper. p. 1, 6, 32, 5, 7.

Thus again, in his second oration in honour of the same personage, he addresses him, as ὦ φίλε βασιλεῦ. Orat. ii. p. 50, 53.

And thus, in his third oration, he celebrates the Empress Eusebia, as the γαμετὴ βασιλέως ἀνδρείου : and compliments her on the flattering circumstance, that the βασιλεὺς thought her worthy of his alliance. Orat. iii. p. 110, 111.

The same style occurs, perhaps yet more remarkably, in his *Cæsars* : for, in the course of that tract, he introduces Mercury chaunting a proclamation, wherein all the Kings who have distinguished themselves by their great exploits, οἱ τὸ πρὶν βασιλεῖς, are invited to come forward and to plead for that wreath which Jupiter was about to award to the most illustrious. Such is the proclamation : and it is forthwith responded to indifferently, under the express character of βασιλεῖς or *Kings*, by the most distinguished of the Roman Cæsars and by their competitor Alexander the Macedonian. Cæsar. Oper. p. 319—336.

III. The phraseology of Julian is the phraseology likewise of

with that royally personal title, was the acknowledged supreme governor. Such being the case,

his friend and admirer Libanius : for, in addressing the Emperor, he accosts him, as ὁ βασιλεῦ. Liban. pro Arist. ad Imp. Julian. Oper. vol. ii. p. 217.

IV. We find the same style employed also by the ecclesiastical historian Socrates : for he remarks, that the βασιλεὺς Julian satirised, in his *Cæsars*, πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς of the Romans. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 1.

V. If, from the time of Julian, we follow the downward stream of chronology, we shall still find the same nomenclature equally prevalent.

1. Pope Gregory, in his first epistle to the Emperor Leo Isauricus, addresses him as *your god-defended kingship* ; τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοφρουρήτου βασιλείας : speaks of his *royal predecessors* ; τῶν πρὸ σοῦ βασιλευσάντων : exhorts him to act as becomes *the King of the Christians* ; βασιλεῖ Χριστιανῶν : and thence, conformably, salutes him with the vocative title of βασιλεῦ. Greg. Epist. i. ad Imp. Leon. apud Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 8, 16.

Precisely the same style is observed also in his second epistle. The Emperor is still vocatively addressed, as βασιλεῦ : and Constantine, Theodosius, Valentinian, and Constantine the father of Justinian, are jointly celebrated, on the ground that οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοπροπῶς ἐβασίλευσαν. Greg. Epist. ii. ad Imp. Leon. apud Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 24, 25, 28.

2. The same strain is observed in the proceedings of the second Nicene Council ; where we may be sure, that every thing would be conducted with due regard to imperial decorum.

We find the Patriarch Tarasius styling Constantine and Irene πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, and τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ἡμῶν βασιλεῦσι, and τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων ἡμῶν : and, not to multiply examples even to satiety, in the first action of the Council, the Emperor and Empress are officially styled *the faithful Kings of the Romans* ; Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Εἰρήνη πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων. Labb. Concil. vol. vii. p. 33, 36, 49.

the five heads, which in the time of St. John had *fallen*, were the Consulate, the Dictatorship, the Decemvirate, the Military Tribunate, and the Triumvirate : while the head, which then *existed*, was the Roman Kingship or Emperorship or Princedom, recently awakened to political activity by the successful ambition of Octavian or Augustus Cesar. In a word, Tacitus and St. John are alike accurate in their respective statements : for their apparent discrepancy is occasioned solely by the difference of phraseology which they severally employ. Tacitus asserts, that *six* forms of Roman government had *subsisted* prior to the merging of the second Tri-

3. In a similar manner, so far as my memory serves me after a lapse of well nigh thirty years (for I have no present opportunity of verifying my remark), the Emperors are, with the Byzantine writers, perpetually βασιλεῖς; while the Empire itself is βασιλεία : and I am the less inclined to believe that my memory has proved treacherous, because I find Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who survived the siege of Constantinople in the year 1453, intimating, that, from first to last, the long line of the Greek Emperors bore the style and title of Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορες. Laon. Chalc. lib. i. p. 3. cited by Gibbon in Hist. of Decline, vol. x. p. 155. The style is remarkable, as mingling together indifferently, as it were in one compound title, the two synonymous appellations of *Kings and Autocrats of the Romans*. I may also adduce, as my voucher for the continuance of the nomenclature during the period in which the Byzantine writers flourished, the lexicographer Suidas, who lived about the year 1100. Speaking of the Emperor Julian, he calls him Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀνεψιός : and he remarks, that he comprehends within his Work called *the Cæsars*, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Αὐγούστου Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς. Suid. Lex. in voc. Ἰουλιανός.

umvirate in the Emperorſhip. St. John no where controverts this aſſertion, which, in truth, reſts upon naked matter of fact: but he declares, that, in his time, only *five* forms had *fallen* or had *become extinct*. The two ſtatements are by no means incompatible. On the contrary, they are *both* ſtrictly true. In the abſtract, it does not follow, that, becauſe ſix forms of government had been *in exiſtence* anterior to any given epoch, therefore at that epoch they muſt all have *fallen*: in the concrete, ſix forms of Roman government had actually been *in exiſtence* anterior to the time of St. John; but, out of thoſe ſix, five only had then become *extinct*.

It is not unworthy of note, that the ſingularly accurate language of the Apocalypse perfectly accords with the preſent arrangement.

Five kings have fallen, and one is. The interpreting angel does not ſay; *Five kings have fallen, and* THE SIXTH is: for, had *ſuch* been his phraſeology, he would have required us to pronounce, in plain oppoſition to hiſtorical teſtimony, that the Roman Emperorſhip was the *sixth* head of the wild-beaſt. But he ſays; *Five kings have fallen, and one is*; a mode of expreſſion, which precisely correſponds with literal matter of fact: for, though five had fallen, the then exiſting king was the *firſt*, not the *sixth*. As the angel ſpeaks, *one is*: not *The sixth is*¹.

¹ For the hiſtorical remark, that *the Triumvirate cannot but be deemed a form of Roman polity*, I beg to acknowledge my

I may now, without further difficulty, enumerate, in the regular chronological order of their rise, all the seven heads of the wild-beast or all the seven supreme forms of Roman polity.

(1.) The chronologically first ruling head was the Roman Kingship or Emperorship or Principedom or Basileïs.

This arose with Romulus, in the year A. C. 753 or 748 or 627, according as we prefer the reckoning of Varro or Fabius Pictor or Sir Isaac Newton ; sank into a state of quiescence or abeyance, in the year A. C. 508 ; awoke to renewed activity, in the year A. C. 27 ; and fell not finally, until the year P. C. 1806.

(2.) The chronologically second ruling head was the Consulate.

This arose with Brutus and Collatinus, in the year A. C. 508 : and, after many vicissitudes of quiescence and action, produced by the appearance and disappearance of other polities, it effectively fell, though its bare name and shadow may have been still preserved, when, by the expurgation of the Imperial Roman Kingship, it was, in the year A. C. 27, for ever stripped of its dominant authority.

(3.) The chronologically third ruling head was the Dictatorship.

This arose with Titus Lartius, in the year A. C.

obligation to a gentleman with whom I have not the advantage of being personally acquainted. In his communication to me on that subject, Mr. Lowe is perfectly correct.

497 : and, like the Consulate, sometimes active and sometimes quiescent, it fell at length, in the year A. C. 27, by absorption into the Regal Emperorship.

(4.) The chronologically fourth ruling head was the Decemvirate.

This commenced, in the year A. C. 451, on the motion of Appius Claudius, that ten persons, to be chosen out of the body of the Senate, should, for one year reckoned from the day of their nomination, be invested, for the government of the State, with an authority from which there should lie no appeal, the Consulate with all other magistracies being suppressed during that space of time : and it fell, in consequence of the lamentable fate of Virginia, by the death or self-banishment of the last decemvirs, in the year A. C. 448.

(5.) The chronologically fifth ruling head was the Military Tribune.

This arose, in the year A. C. 444, by the temporary suppression of the Consulate, and by the creation of certain officers denominated *military tribunes* who were to exercise the same functions and to enjoy the same authority as the Consuls : and it fell, in the year A. C. 366, on the fifth appointment of Camillus to the Dictatorship.

(6.) The chronologically sixth ruling head was the Triumvirate.

This arose, with Pompey and Crassus and Julius Cæsar, in the year A. C. 59 ; sank into quiescence

in the year A. C. 48, when, after the successive deaths of Crassus and Pompey, Cesar was declared, by the Senate and People, Consul for five years and Dictator for one year; awoke to activity in the year A. C. 43, with Antony and Lepidus and Octavian; and ultimately became extinct in the year A. C. 27, when, at the call of Augustus, the first head or the Roman Imperial Kingship awoke after its long slumber of well nigh five centuries.

(7.) The chronologically seventh ruling head was the Francic Kingship or Emperorhip.

Since this head, though it was the seventh in chronological order of origination, immediately succeeded the chronologically first head, inasmuch as the five other heads had already fallen in the time of St. John, while the chronologically first head was then in active existence; it will be necessary, for its more satisfactory development, to note somewhat at large the vicissitudes of the first head, until that first head finally fell in the year P. C. 1806: that so we may be brought, in strictly regular course, to the rise of the chronologically seventh head.

The chronologically first head, as I have already observed, arose with Romulus, in the year A. C. 753 or 748 or 627: and, after a long quiescence which commenced in the year A. C. 508, it awoke to activity in the year A. C. 27; when, by the unanimous consent of the Senate and People, the Principality of the whole Empire was conferred on

Octavian Cesar with the name of *Augustus*, which ever afterward was borne by himself and his successors.

Those commentators, who, with whatever subordinate varieties of arrangement, discover the Pope-dom in the last head of the Roman beast, usually lay it down as a clear case, that the head, which existed in the time of St. John, fell, upon the deposition of Augustulus and the extinction of the Western Imperial Dignity, in the year P. C. 476 or 479. Whence they argue, that, as the Roman Bishop was manifestly the successor of the Roman Emperor in the metropolitan city, and as he soon acquired an extraordinary degree of authority throughout the whole Western Empire, he certainly must be viewed under the character, either of the seventh and eighth Roman kings conjointly, or of the eighth Roman king forthwith succeeding to the short-lived seventh Roman king¹.

Such a mode of reasoning is evidently built on the assumption, that the head, which existed in St. John's time, fell, when Augustulus was deposed and when the Imperial Roman Dignity was extin-

¹ See Mede's Works, book v. chap. 12. p. 922. Bp. Newton's Diss. on the Proph. diss. xxv. vol. iii. p. 285—288. Lowman's Paraph. p. 255—257. Fleming's Apoc. Key. p. 16. Brightman's Apoc. fol. 273, 274. Mann's M.S. cited by Bp. Newton, vol. iii. p. 287. Forbes apud Pol. Synop. in loc. Sharpe's Append. to three Tracts. p. 28. Sharpe's Inquiry into the descript. of Babyl. p. 8, 9. Whitaker on the Rev. p. 205—423. Jurieu's Accompl. part i. chap. 16.

guished in the West. This assumption, however, though made by one commentator after another as a thing quite indisputable, rests upon no solid foundation. The *western* line of the Roman Emperors did indeed expire with Augustulus : but the office or dominant authority of the Roman Kingship or Emperorship, which is the thing typified by the head existing in the time of St. John, was *not* then abolished, or, in the phraseology of the Apocalypse, did *not* then fall. On the contrary, it still continued to subsist with much vigour in the *eastern* division of the Empire, which is represented by the leonine and the ursine and the leopardine parts of the symbol : and it even again brought under its sway, 'during the reign of Justinian, the whole of the Italian and African provinces' ¹.

So far, then, was the Roman Emperorship from *falling* by the abdication of Augustulus, that no other change was produced in the constitution of the Regal head except this : instead of two Emperors, eastern and western, who had governed the divided Empire since the death of Theodosius, the

¹ Respecting the true political aspect of that memorable event, *the temporary extinction of the Roman Imperial Dignity in the West*, nothing can be more definite and precise than the authentic testimony of the historian. The Emperorship *itself* was not considered as abolished. On the contrary, the language of the Roman Senate, in their epistle to Zeno, was, that *the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same time, both the East and the West*. See Gibbon's Hist. of Decline, vol. vi. p. 226—228.

world again beheld, though with diminished territory, a sole Emperor of the Romans.

The Dignity, thus evidently not extinct by the deposition of Augustulus, continued in the eastern part of the Empire, until Constantinople was taken by the Turks in the year P. C. 1453¹. It was then abolished in the East, as it had heretofore been suppressed in the West. But this event did not produce its ultimate fall.

If we revert to the West, we shall find, that, although it had been suppressed by Odoacer throughout that division in the year P. C. 476 or 479, it was restored by the powerful sovereign of France in the year P. C. 800 : when Charlemagne, in the church of St. Peter, was solemnly proclaimed *the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans*¹. In consequence, therefore, of this transaction, the Empire was now once more ruled by two Roman Emperors, the one in the East and the other in the West, jointly as before constituting that chronologically first head of the wild-beast, which arose in the person of Romulus, and which was recalled into action by Cesar Octavian².

From the year 800 to the year 1453, with the exception of the interregnum which occurred when the Western Imperial Dignity was transferred from

¹ See Gibbon's Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 173, 174. and Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 800.

² See Gibbon's Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 170, 171. and Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 801.

France to Germany, the first head continued to have *two* representatives: but, when the Turks put an end to the Roman Emperorship in the East, the reigning successor of Charlemagne in the West became the *sole* Emperor of the Romans. In this capacity, he has always claimed, and has always been allowed, precedence over every one of the ten regal horns, which (as the prophet most accurately speaks) have received power ~~as~~ kings *conjunctively with* the beast¹: and thence he has invariably been considered, as *the head* of the great European Commonwealth².

Such, down to our own time, has confessedly been the state of the divided Roman Empire. Ever since the year 1453, when the Imperial Dignity was abolished in the East, it has existed, under an Emperor or King of the Romans as its acknowledged head³, and an indefinite number of jointly reigning independent kings the representatives of the ten original horns. Therefore, from the days of Augustus Cesar when five out of the seven heads had fallen down to the commencement of the nineteenth century, the Roman beast existed under the same first head, which had arisen with Romulus, and which was flourishing in the time of St. John;

¹ Rev. xvii. 12.

² See Mackenzie's *Observ. on Precedency*, chap. i. p. 1.

³ It may be useful to inform the non-heraldic reader, that the true official title of the prince, whom we were wont familiarly to denominate *the Emperor of Germany*, was *the Emperor and King of the Romans*.

namely, the head, however modified or divided at this period or at that period, which was distinguished by the official title of *the Roman Kingship* or *Emperorship*.

But, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first head, after a long reign of more than 1800 years subsequent to its expegefaction by Augustus, was, like its five predecessors, destined to fall or to become extinct. From the time of that prince until the year 1806, the Roman world had never been without a Roman Emperor, either in the West or in the East or in both; who, through every vicissitude of fortune, was invariably acknowledged as its head: but, when the Roman Emperorship or Kingship was finally abolished, on the seventh day of August in the year 1806, by the solemn abdication of that dignity with its appendent claims and authority on the part of the Archduke of Austria, so that for the first time since the days of Augustus Cesar it altogether ceased to exist; then the first head fell or was extinguished, henceforth, like the five heads which had already fallen when St. John wrote the Apocalypse, appearing upon the symbolical beast, not merely dormant, but absolutely dead¹.

From the preceding discussion it appears; that the six first heads of the wild-beast, however they may differ from each other in political constitution, are universally *secular* forms of government.

¹ See Butler's Revol. of Germany, p. 208.

Hence, on the principle of homogeneity as laid down above, we have a clear indication of the specific nature of the seventh head, whether viewed as the short-lived seventh king or as the eighth and last king.

The principle requires, that all the seven heads should be homogeneous or of one species. But the six first heads are by history demonstrated to be universally *secular*. Therefore the seventh head, however it may be divided into a seventh king and an eighth king, must assuredly be *secular* also.

This argument at once shews the futility of those schemes, which, with whatever variety of management, would exhibit the Papacy as the last ruling head of the wild-beast. The answer to them all is short, but conclusive. Homogeneity requires, that the last head of the wild-beast should be a *secular* form of government. The authority of the Papacy over the Western Roman Empire was altogether *spiritual* or *ecclesiastical*. Therefore the Papacy cannot be the last head of the wild-beast ¹.

¹ Bp. Newton, as if to parry the force of this argument, contends, that the Pope made himself *the head of the State* as well as *the head of the Church*, that he was *a king of kings* as well as *a bishop of bishops*: and Mr. Whitaker cites a sermon of Pope Innocent III, in which he extravagantly claims *a preëminent temporal authority* no less than *a preëminent spiritual authority*. Hence they contend, that the Papacy, by virtue of its supreme *temporal* jurisdiction, was in truth the last *secular* head of the beast, although it was likewise a *spiritual* Power.

Could this point have been satisfactorily established, my ar-

Having thus with reason wholly set aside the Papacy from being the head of a confessedly *secular* wild-beast, we have now to inquire what distinct form of Roman government is intended by the seventh head.

Zöological decorum, as we have seen, forbids the supposition, that the beast himself can continue to live when all his seven heads are dead. Hence, at the fall of the first head which outlived five of its chronologically less ancient fellows, the seventh head must either have immediately sprung up to occupy its place, or it must have previously started

gument, no doubt, would fall to the ground : but it never has been, and never can be, established.

There is a very wide difference between *only claiming*, and *really possessing*, temporal supremacy. In their *claims*, indeed, of temporal supremacy, the Popes have been abundantly importunate : but they have not been equally successful in *establishing* those claims. So far from it, while their *spiritual* supremacy was readily allowed throughout the Western Empire, their claim of *temporal* supremacy was stoutly resisted. An individual prince, during a time of distress, might occasionally submit to papal arrogance : but the claim of *temporal* supremacy was never allowed with any continuance, and doubtless never unanimously allowed at the same time, by the successive great European Powers. Consequently, if it has never been allowed, but if on the contrary it has been strenuously resisted ; with what shew of reason can we admit the scheme, which makes the Pope the last head of the beast, as being *the head of the State* as well as *the head of the Church* ? The truth of the matter is, that the Empire, Hungary, England, France, and Spain, all equally and steadily declared, that the Pope possessed no *temporal* authority whatsoever within their several limits.

into existence so as to be ready to succeed the fallen first head. For, unless this has been the case, the beast will have become defunct by the fall of his then only surviving first head: whereas we are clearly taught by the prophet, that his death or political non-existence does not take place, until after the slaying of his seventh head by the sword¹. What, then, is that seventh head of the beast, which, in point of chronology, was destined to succeed the long-lived first head?

Its predicted characteristics are: *Futurity with respect to the age of St. John*²; *Brevity of continuance*³; and *Violent slaughter by the sword*⁴: to which may be added that general characteristic of all the heads, *The sovereignty of the metropolitan city Rome during some portion or other of its existence*; for, without such sovereignty, the seven heads would not correspond with the seven mountains upon which Rome was founded⁵.

¹ Rev. xvii. 8, 10, 11.

² Rev. xvii. 10.

³ Rev. xvii. 10.

⁴ Rev. xiii. 3, 14.

⁵ Rev. xvii. 9. This characteristic demonstrates, that the Ottoman Sultan, though occupying the territories of the Constantinopolitan Emperor, cannot be, either a new head, or a continuation of the first head. He never was master of Rome: and, therefore, he cannot correspond with any one of the seven mountains in this avowedly *double* type. As Mr. Mede justly remarks: *Septem bestię capita duplex typus: primo, septem montes seu colles sunt, super quos urbs bestię metropolis sita est; deinde, septem quoque, idque in iisdem* (quod unitas typi

Of these several characteristics, no one requires to be established by formal argument, save that of *Violent slaughter by the sword*: it will be proper, therefore, somewhat more at large than I have hitherto done, to assign the grounds, on which I have identified the seventh head with the head which St. John beheld mortally wounded by the sword of foreign violence.

The grounds of such identification are the following.

On the extinction of the head which is said to have been slain by the sword, the death of the beast immediately succeeds. But the beast did not die on the extinction of any one of his six first heads. Therefore the head, slain by the sword, must be the seventh.

denotat) *collibus*, regum seu dynastarum successivorum ordines. Comment. Apoc. par. ii. Oper. p. 524. In the construction of the double type, the seven kings answer to the seven Roman mountains, each one to each one. But no such correspondence exists in a dynasty or polity, which *never*, in any part of its existence, was master of Rome. Therefore *The sovereignty of the metropolitan city Rome during some portion or other of its existence* is a necessary characteristic of every one of the seven heads: for, without possessing it, they would not be the seven *Roman mountains*, as well as the seven *Roman kings*. This again shews the futility of those schemes, which would seek any of the seven heads elsewhere than in direct connection, during some part of their existence, with the seven-hilled city of Rome. According to the construction of the double type, an essentially necessary characteristic of each head is *The sovereignty of the metropolitan city Rome during some portion or other of its existence*. See above book v. chap. 4. § III. 2. note.

Again : the five heads, which had become extinct in the time of St. John, are simply said to have *fallen* ; an expression, evidently used contrastively to the *military violence* implied in an act of slaughter by the sword : and *the diplomatic fall* of the head, which was in actual existence when the Apostle wrote, we ourselves recently beheld in the year 1806. Hence no one of the six first heads *can* be the head, which is mortally wounded by the sword of foreign military violence. But, if the sword-slain head be no one of the six first heads, it can only be the seventh head.

Again : in the hieroglyphic, as presented to the eyes of St. John, the beast first lives, then dies by the sword of violence, and then revives : analogously to which, in the verbal interpretation as given by the hierophantic angel, the beast was, and is not, and yet shall be ; or, in other words, first exists, then ceases to exist, and then reëxists. Hence it is evident, that the life and death and revival of the beast are explained to denote the political existence and non-existence and reëxistence of the Roman Empire. But the symbolical wild-beast, we are told, *ceases* to exist on the extinction of the short-lived seventh head : and rises out of the abyss to his *new* state of reëxistence, under the eighth king, who is identified with the seventh, and who is thence declared to be one of the preceding seven kings. Therefore, since the non-existence of the beast corresponds with his death, since he falls into non-existence on the extinction

of the seventh head, and since he sinks into death by the mortal wound which is inflicted on some one of his heads by a sword: it will follow, that the sword-slain head, the slaughter of which is followed by his death, must be the short-lived seventh head, the extinction of which is followed by the period of his non-existence.

On these grounds, I think it indisputable, that the short-lived seventh head is the head which St. John beheld mortally wounded by a sword. Whence of course it will follow, that *Violent slaughter by the sword* is one of the characteristics of the seventh head ¹.

¹ This simple statement of particulars will abundantly confute those several schemes, which would variously identify the seventh head with the Papacy or with the Exarchate of Ravenna or with the line of the Western Cæsars from Honorius to Augustulus.

1. The Papacy has neither continued only a short space, nor has it hitherto at least been slain by the sword.

2. The Exarchate of Ravenna was slain, indeed, by the sword of the Lombards, and it continued only a short space: but the beast neither died upon its extinction; nor can it well be deemed a *successor* to the Roman Imperial head, in behalf of which it merely discharged the function of viceroyalty, and which itself did not fall until the year 1806.

3. The line of the Western Cæsars was short-lived, and was politically slain (we may say) by the Gothic sword of Odoacer: but, to omit the circumstance of this imaginary seventh head being in truth no other than the western portion of the first or regal-imperial head, it neither succeeded that head which fell in the year 1806, nor did its fall produce the political death of the Empire.

I may now, therefore, repeat with confidence, that the predicted characteristics of the seventh head are : *Futurity with respect to the age of St. John ; Brevity of continuance ; Violent slaughter by the sword ; and The sovereignty of the metropolitan city Rome during some portion or other of its existence.*

The chronologically first head fell in the year 1806 : consequently, as I have already observed, its final successor the seventh head must have arisen, either in that same year, or shortly before that same year : because, otherwise, on the fall of the first head, five of its fellows having already fallen, the beast, in consequence of the death of all his six first heads previous to the rise of his seventh head, must *himself* have been in a politically defunct condition ; for, according to the decorum of zoölogy, no beast can live without a living head. What, then, was the polity, which succeeded the ancient Roman Kingship or Emperorship, as the manifest head of the Empire, and as the master of its seven-hilled capital ? To this question we must plainly answer, *the Francic Emperorship* as established by Napoleon Buonapartè.

Accordingly we shall find, that, in every particu-

We must look, then, for some other very different Power, which will answer to the characteristics of the seventh head : a Power, which was not in existence at the time when our older commentators flourished ; whence, in the very nature of things, it was impossible for them to give the right interpretation of this part of the prophecy.

lar, the Francic Emperorship minutely answers to the prophetic character of the seventh head.

In the May of the year 1804, Napoleon Buonapartè assumed the official title of *Emperor of the French* : in the March of the year 1805, he became King of Italy : in the August of the year 1806, the first Roman head fell by the abdication and abolition of the official title of *Emperor of the Romans* : and, in the February of the year 1810, it was decreed, that the Papal States should be united to the French Empire ; that, of that Empire, ROME should henceforth rank as the second city ; that the Prince Imperial should take the title of *King of Rome* ; and that the Emperors, after having been crowned in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, should, before the tenth year of their reign, be also crowned in that of St. Peter.

Here, then, we behold the rise of a new head, distinct in its official designation from all the preceding six heads, enjoying the sovereignty of the metropolitan city though degrading it from its old metropolitan dignity, springing up at the very time when prophecy leads us to expect its rise, and assuming the new and hitherto unknown title of *Emperor of the French*. With respect to its power, it may be said to have extended, either directly or indirectly, over the whole Latin Empire, with the single exception of England : and, in regard to its character as a *Roman* head, the industrious assumption of the eagle as its special military ensign, the affectation of its representative at

once to play the part of Augustus and Justinian and Charlemagne, the aping with whatever success the manners and pretensions of the old Romans, and lastly the actual sovereignty of Rome itself, all serve to demonstrate that it was truly the seventh head of the Roman wild-beast.

This seventh head, however, which in the time of the Apostle was not yet come, was destined, we are told, whenever it *should* come, to continue only a short space.

Such is the chronological notation of the seventh head : and such, formidable and threatening as its aspect might be, has been the fate of the Francic Emperorship. It arose in the May of the year 1804 : it fell in the June of the year 1815, having subsisted no more than the brief period of eleven years.

But the seventh head was not only to be short-lived : its abolition was likewise to be eminently distinguished from the abolition of all its six predecessors. *They* are described, as simply *falling* one after another, in consequence (as the prophet may be understood to intimate) of successive *internal* revolutions or regulations : *it* is described, as *receiving a deadly wound from a sword*, in consequence (as the prophet, by the rule of antithesis, must obviously be understood to intimate) of some violent *external* attack.

With the tenor of the prediction, the actual accomplishment of the event has been found exactly to agree. The prophecy teaches, that the short-

lived seventh head should not simply *fall* by any domestic revolution or political arrangement, but that it should be *mortally wounded* by the sword of foreign war : the Francic Emperorship fell not by internal revolution, but, on the ever memorable 18th day of June in the year 1815, it was mortally wounded by the sword of external violence in the destined field of Waterloo.

4. From what has now been said it appears, that *all* the seven heads of the Roman beast are at present *defunct* : six of them having *fallen* by domestic revolution or political arrangement ; and the seventh, agreeably to the prophecy, having been *slain* by the sword of foreign violence. But the beast is represented, as having *no more* than seven heads. Whence, upon the slaughter of his seventh and last head, since *all* his heads are now defunct, zoölogical decorum requires, that he himself should be exhibited as sinking into a state of death.

Accordingly, in the hieroglyphic, the beast dies, when his last surviving head is slain by the sword : and, in the verbal interpretation, he is said to sink into a state of political non-existence as an Empire, when, after continuing only a short space, his last head perishes. The beast *was*, or existed in actual vitality as an Empire, from the rise of his first head with Romulus down to the sword-inflicted slaughter of his seventh head under Napoleon Buonapartè : the beast *is not*, or ceases to exist as a living Empire, when, at length, through internal

revolution or external violence, *all* his heads successively become defunct.

Such is the tenor of the prophecy, as set forth, partly in the pictured hieroglyphic, partly in the verbal interpretation afforded by the angel. Let us now mark its completion, as we may behold it with our own eyes.

From Romulus down even to beyond the year 1806 when the Roman Kingship or Emperorship was finally extinguished, the hieroglyphical wild-beast had never been without a living head: and, consequently, under one head or another, he himself had never ceased to live.

But a very different scene presented itself, when, in the year 1815, the hostile sword of England, wielded by the great captain of the age, inflicted a mortal wound upon the short-lived seventh head. For the first time, during the lapse of more than twenty five centuries, *all* the heads of the wild-beast now lay dead together: and, when the seventh head was slain by the sword, no new head sprang up in its room. The place of the Francic Emperorship remained unoccupied. Neither in virtue of a recognised official appellation of supremacy¹,

¹ As in the case of the Roman Emperors since the time of Charlemagne. Hence Mr. Gibbon remarks, that the supremacy of the Emperor was not confined to Germany alone, but that in rank and dignity he was acknowledged to be THE TEMPORAL HEAD of the great Republic of the West. See Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 216. See also Mackenzie's Observ. on Preceden. chap. i. p. 1.

nor through a predominance of solid power extending over the whole Empire ¹, can it be said, that, since the violent death of the seventh, and last head in the year 1815, any single State within the limits of the Roman world has exercised the function of a head. On the contrary, during the present period of the wild-beast's allegorical death or political non-existence, the great European Commonwealth is, even avowedly, moderated and governed by a sort of high police formed out of a college or corporation of the stronger monarchies : which, claiming to regulate the conduct of the weaker sovereignties, professes to watch over the interests and to preserve the peace of the Roman Ecumenè ².

Thus it appears, if there be any justice in the preceding conclusions, that, in the year 1815 when the Francic Emperorship was mortally wounded by the sword, we entered upon the *second* grand chronological period, which the apocalyptic prophet describes hieroglyphically as the period during which the wild-beast should lie dead in consequence of the then defunct condition of all his seven heads, and which the interpreting angel sets forth verbally as the period during which the Empire of the seven-hilled city should be in a state of non-existence

¹ As in the successive cases of Charlemagne and Napoleon : the one, as King or Emperor of the Romans, the representative of the first head ; the other, as Emperor of the French and King of Italy, the representative of the seventh head.

² See the declaration, with which the Congress closed its session at Aix-la-Chapelle on Nov. 15, 1818.

through the sudden and violent downfall' of the short-lived seventh king or seventh political form of Roman government. On the principles here laid down, the *first* period of the beast's life or the *first* period of the Empire's 'political existence, namely the period from the rise of the first head under Romulus to the slaughter of the seventh head under Napôleon, is PAST : or, in the language of the angelic hierophant, *the wild beast WAS*. Hence, in regular descent through the great prophetic calendar as successively expounded and verified by faithful history, we must now, unless my principles be altogether erroneous, have entered upon the *second* period of the beast's death or the Empire's political non-existence : that is to say, in the language of the same angelic hierophant, we must have entered upon the period during which *the wild-beast IS NOT*.

5. But the interpreting angel mentions yet a *third* period, connected with the strangely varied fortunes of the Roman Empire.

The beast WAS, and IS NOT, and yet IS or (as some copies read) *yet SHALL BE*.

He WAS, as we have just seen ; during his term of original existence, from the first foundation of Rome down to the year 1815 when his seventh and last surviving head was slain by the sword : *he IS NOT* ; during the term of his allegorical death or political non-existence as an Empire, which term of political non-entity commenced in the year 1815, when, through the mortal wound inflicted upon his

last head, *all* his seven heads for the first time in the course of five and twenty centuries lay dead together : *he IS or SHALL BE* ; at some yet future period, during the term of his reëxistence, when, restored to the functions of imperial sovereignty, he shall again stand forth as formidable as ever.

As the interpreting angel thus divides the entire duration of the wild-beast's Empire into three successive periods ; that of *his original existence*, that of *his non-existence*, and that of *his reëxistence* ; or that during which *the beast WAS*, that during which *the beast IS NOT*, and that during which *the beast SHALL BE* : so, both the fashion of the hieroglyphic itself, and the corresponding verbal exposition, unite to point out the mode, in which the defunct beast should rise from the dead or should start into political reëxistence.

(1.) With respect to the fashion of the hieroglyphic itself, the prophet describes it very minutely and particularly.

I saw, says he, *one of the heads of the beast as it were wounded to death ; and HIS DEADLY WOUND WAS HEALED : for the beast had a wound, even A DEADLY WOUND OR A WOUND OF HIS DEATH* ¹, *by a sword ; and yet DID LIVE.*

Hence it appears, that the slain wild-beast will be restored to life, by the healing of the mortal wound which he had received from the sword, and which had caused his political death. But his

¹ Gr. ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

mortal wound, or the wound of his death, was inflicted upon his seventh head. Therefore, when his mortal wound is healed, the head, which received that wound, must plainly be healed likewise¹. In other words, the slain wild-beast will be restored to life by the healing or political revival of his sword-wounded seventh head.

(2.) Such was the picture-history presented to St. John: and analogous to it is the verbal interpretation of the angel.

The beast, that thou sawest, was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss. The beast was, and is not, and yet shall be. The seven heads are seven Kings. Five are fallen; and one is; and THE OTHER is not yet come: and, when he cometh, he must continue a short space; and he is also an EIGHTH king (in reference to the beast that was and is not), and he is one of the seven kings.

Here we learn, that the wild-beast, after sinking into a state of non-existence as an Empire upon the violent death of the seventh head or king, will ascend out of the abyss into a new state of reëxistence under an eighth king; who, with reference to

¹ It is justly and accurately remarked by Bp. Newton: *Not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death; but his deadly wound was healed. The SAME head, which was wounded, must be healed.* Dissert. on the Proph. dissert. xxv. vol. iii. p. 211.

The argument is perfectly conclusive, whatever may be the particular head which is slain by the sword.

the beast during the two successive periods of his original existence and his non-existence, will be the same as the slaughtered seventh king, and will therefore be one of the seven kings in a revived or restored condition.

Nothing can be more definite than such language : nor can any thing more perfectly accord with the appearance exhibited by the symbol.

In the symbol, the seventh head is slain by the sword ; and the beast, *all* his heads being now defunct, sinks into a state of death : but, after a certain time, the deadly wound is healed ; the slaughtered seventh head revives ; and, with it, the dead beast, to the wonder of all the world, revives likewise.

In the verbal interpretation, the seventh king is extinguished, after continuing only a short space ; and the Empire, represented by the beast, having no longer any acknowledged paramount form of government, sinks into a state of political non-existence as an Empire : but, after a certain time, the seventh king is restored ; the Empire, along with him, ascends to political reëxistence as an Empire ; and thus, with reference to that Empire during its two former states of original existence and of non-existence, the restored seventh king becomes *arithmetically* an eighth king at the head of the revived Empire, though *really* he is still only one of the seven kings because he is the seventh king restored or revived.

Thus accurately do the symbol and the verbal interpretation answer to each other.

(3.) The general result of such a comparison is obviously the following one.

If the short-lived and sword-slain seventh head be the Francic Emperorship, we have it foretold with abundant plainness, that the deadly wound of this last form of Roman government shall hereafter be healed, and that, under this same form (viewed, with reference to the two prior conditions of the beast, as an eighth, though truly one of the seven), the now defunct beast shall both revive and ascend out of the abyss and go into final destruction.

This conclusion accords with what we read of the activity of the wild-beast under the sixth vial and of his ultimate overthrow under the seventh vial¹. For, agreeably to the prophecy, *all* the heads of the beast are now dead; and the beast himself, therefore, is defunct. But, under the sixth and seventh vials, he is alive and active. Therefore, since the effusion of at least the seventh vial is manifestly future, he must, in order to accomplish the yet unfulfilled predictions respecting him, hereafter revive under the rule of that eighth king who is declared to be the same as the sword-slain seventh king.

The abyss, from which he ascends into his *predicted* but *yet future* state of political reëxistence,

¹ Rev. xvi. 12—16. xix. 17—21.

is the sea, out of which Daniel and St. John alike describe him as ascending into his *original* but *now past* state of political existence : for *the abyss* and *the sea* are synonymous terms, by which the great assemblage of oceanic waters is alike designated. But the sea, according to the invariable use of the word in the figured language of prophecy, denotes a nation or an aggregate of nations in a turbid state of warfare or revolution. As the Roman beast, therefore, like his predecessors in empire the other beasts of Daniel, came up from the stormy sea or (as Bishop Newton rightly understands the term) *from the commotions of the world*, when, under Romulus, he commenced his first period of existence : so will he similarly come up from the abyss or out of some agitated nation or aggregate of nations, when, under the revived Francic Emperors, he shall commence his second period of existence or his period of reëxistence.

This expectation of the revival of the Francic Emperors, previous to the wild-beast's going into ultimate destruction, rests, no doubt, upon the propriety of my application of the seventh Roman head. But, whether that application be proper or improper, *this* at least is certain, that there at present exists not *any* living head of the Roman Empire : whence, so far as I can judge, it must inevitably follow, that the Roman Empire *itself* is no longer in a state of political existence. If, then, the Roman Empire has *now* ceased to exist ; it is quite clear, that the predictions respecting its *yet*

future destruction in Palestine *cannot* receive their accomplishment, unless the extinct Empire shall be restored to life and activity. Now, according to the Apocalypse, this necessary restoration is effected by the healing of the short-lived and sword-slain seventh head. Hence, if the seventh head be the Francic Emperorship, it cannot but follow, from the very terms of the prophecy, that, in the person of some or other successful adventurer, the Francic Emperorship will be revived while the reanimated wild-beast is emerging from the agitated abyss of some tremendous political revolution ¹

¹ I have simply stated what appear to myself the necessary *hypothetical* deductions from the prophecy, quite independently of all *political* conjectures and speculations. Yet it may not be uninteresting to hear the anticipations of Napoleon Buonapartè himself relative to the future destinies of France: for, whatever may be thought of his moral character, few will doubt his pre-ëminent talents and sagacity.

He conversed upon the probability of a revolution in France. Ere twenty years have elapsed, when I am dead and buried, said he, you will witness another revolution in France. It is impossible, that twenty nine millions of Frenchmen can live contented under the yoke of sovereigns imposed upon them by foreigners, against whom they have fought and bled for nearly thirty years. You are very fond in England of making a comparison between the restoration of Charles the second and that of Louis: but there is not the smallest similitude. Charles was recalled by the mass of the English nation to the throne, which his successor afterward lost for a mass: but, as to the Bourbons, there is not a village in France which has not lost thirty or forty of the flower of its youth in endeavouring to prevent their return. Napoleon in exile, vol. i. p. 272, 273.

IV. The horns of the Roman beast, mentioned by St. John, are of course the same as the horns of the fourth beast described by Daniel: for, since each beast equally symbolises the Roman Empire, and since each beast is equally said to have ten horns; the ten horns of the one must plainly shadow out the same ten primary kingdoms as the ten horns of the other.

1. Respecting the origination of these ten horns, Daniel says, that they are ten kings who shall arise out of the broken or divided Empire of the beast: and St. John says, that they are ten kings, who had not received their kingdom at the time when he wrote; but who, in one hour or synchronically with each other, should receive power as kings, conjointly with the beast¹.

The two accounts perfectly harmonise, and perfectly agree with history.

When the Western Roman Empire was broken by the ten nations of the Goths, exactly ten primary kingdoms arose out of its fragments: and these may be broadly said to have sprang up synchronically or during the course of the same season, the season, namely, of the direption and spoliation of the Empire; for the first made its appearance upon the Latin platform in the year 406, and the tenth in the year 568, the western branch of the Imperial head having fallen in the person of Augustulus about the year 476 or 479.

¹ Dan. vii. 24. Rev. xvii. 12.

The regal horns, however, were to be distinguished, not only by their mutually synchronical rise, but likewise by the remarkable circumstance of their receiving power as kings *conjointly* with the beast. It might have been imagined, when the fate of the three preceding Empires was considered, that the division of the Roman Empire into ten independent kingdoms by the victorious Goths would effectually have annihilated that Empire : but the prophet assures us, that this would not be the case. Though ten Gothic kingdoms should be erected within the territorial dominions of the Roman beast, those dominions should nevertheless be governed with independent sway, not *to the exclusion* of the beast, but (what might well have been little anticipated) *in conjunction* with him. *They* were to reign : and *he*, under either his first or his seventh head, was *also* to reign ; until, by the violent slaughter of his seventh head, he should sink into a state of allegorical death or of non-existence as an Empire.

Accordingly, we need but turn to history, if we would be satisfied as to the accuracy of this prediction.

The ten primary horns sprang up, when the Roman Empire was divided by the northern warriors : and their representatives, the numerous monarchies of the European Commonwealth, have continued to exist down to the present day. But they have not existed *to the exclusion* of the beast. On the contrary, the long-lived first head conti-

nued to flourish, *conjointly* with them, down to the year 1806 : and, from that epoch down to the year 1815, they still *co-existed* with the short-lived seventh head. So that the *joint* reign of the beast and his ten regal horns did not terminate, until the beast himself, by the slaughter of his seventh and last head, was consigned to his predicted state of death or political non-existence in the quality of an Empire.

2. The character of the ten horns, as delineated by St. John, might seem to involve a contradiction : but the event has even already, though hitherto but partially, demonstrated the accuracy of the portrait.

For a season, the ten kings have one mind, and give their power and strength unto the beast : but, afterward, so great a change takes place in their sentiments, that they hate the harlot who rides him, and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. Yet, notwithstanding this extraordinary change, a number of them, sufficiently great to authorise the use of a general or sweeping expression, make war with the Lamb : but the Lamb finally overcomes them.

The harlot, as we shall see in the proper place, is the apostate Latin Church subject to its spiritual head the Roman man of sin : and the circumstance of the ten horns giving their strength to the beast plainly enough means the circumstance of the ten Gothic kingdoms unanimously acknowledging the supremacy of the Papacy and their upholding with

all their might the bestial or demonolatrous principles which were established as orthodoxy throughout the whole Roman Empire.

This state of things continued, from the year 604, when for the first time the representatives of all the ten horns were in communion with the Papacy, down to the Reformation which commenced in the year 1517. But, at that epoch, a change of sentiment began to shew itself: for, at that epoch, Daniel's 2300 prophetic days expired, and the long-polluted sanctuary began to be cleansed¹. The Saxon horn *within* the limits of the Empire, and various northern Powers *without* its limits, then first hated the harlot, and devoured her flesh, and made her desolate, by renouncing all communion with her and by alienating her monastic endowments. This spirit, though on very different principles, acquired an additional impulse with the French Revolution in the year 1789. Since that time, we have beheld the confiscation of the churchlands in France, the loss of Avignon to the Papacy, and the secularisation of the German ecclesiastical electorates and princely bishoprics: and with these events we have seen, if not a renunciation of Popery, yet, in that mitigated sense of hatred which so often occurs in Scripture, a marked indifference to the interests of the Roman See and a very general refusal to aid and abet it in its persecuting maxims.

¹ See above book iii. chap. 3. § III. 2.

From the accuracy, therefore, with which the prophecy has hitherto been accomplished, we may anticipate the equal accuracy of its future completion. One only of the Roman horns has renounced communion with the Roman Church. The others are even now labouring to repair the breaches, which its walls have received from the shock of Infidelity; that potent engine, by which in these last days so much damage has been done to the decaying fabric of superstition. Hence, with the solitary exception of the Saxon horn, we may reasonably as well as scripturally anticipate that future war with the Lamb, in which all the horns save one, acting under the influence of the revived beast, will be overcome and destroyed in the final battle of Armageddon ¹.

V. Having now sufficiently discussed the various members of the Roman beast, I proceed to the consideration of that mysterious name, which the Spirit of God has indeed veiled under an enigma, but of which he has directed us by the aid of certain definite marks to attempt the discovery. .

This name, if I mistake not, is *mentioned* indeed in the present section of the little book : but, from the circumstance of the second beast undertaking with peculiar zeal its advocacy, it is not fully *described* until the prophet advances into the next section. Since, however, it is the name, not of the second beast, but of the first, I choose, for the sake

¹ Compare Rev. xvii. 14, with xvi. 13—16 and xix. 17—21.

of concinnity, to treat of it rather here than hereafter¹.

I saw a wild-beast, having seven heads, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. And I beheld another wild-beast: and he causeth all, that they should give to them a mark upon their right hand or upon their foreheads; and that no man might be able to buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the wild-beast or the number of his name². Herein is wisdom: let him, that hath understanding, calculate the number of the wild-beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six-hundred three-score and six³.

Many have been the speculations, relative to the name thus darkly propounded; some very plausible, and others very absurd: but we shall vainly hope for success in explaining the sacred enigma, unless we attend most strictly to the terms in which it is conveyed.

Now these terms, I apprehend, may be set forth under the four following distinct articles.

¹ That the name in question is the name of the first or secular wild-beast, is abundantly certain from the context. The beast, to whom the name belongs, is the beast for whom an image was made. But the beast, for whom an image was made, is the first or secular beast. Therefore the first or secular beast must be that, to whom the name belongs. Compare Rev. xiii. 3, 14—17. xiv. 9. xv. 2. xvi. 2. xix. 20. xx. 4.

² Griesbach rightly rejects the undoubtedly spurious conjunction *or*, between *the mark* and *the name*.

³ Rev. xiii. 1, 11, 16, 17, 18.

The name of the beast is a certain mark or stigma or character : which is figuratively said to be impressed upon him, which exhibits the component letters of his name, and by which he is emphatically distinguished.

The name of the beast is the name of blasphemy.

The name of the beast comprehends the number of the beast : and that number is declared to be 666.

The number of the beast, or the number 666 produced by the letters of his name, is also the number of a man.

Having thus laid down the four distinct articles, under which the terms descriptive of the sacred enigma are set forth, I shall proceed to consider them severally in the regular order of their statement.

1. *The name of the beast is a certain mark or stigma or character : which is figuratively said to be impressed upon him, which exhibits the component letters of his name, and by which he is emphatically distinguished.*

Many have supposed, that the mark of the beast is something different from his name. This, however, is a great mistake : and it has mainly, no doubt, originated from the vulgar reading, which inserts the spurious conjunction *or* between the two phrases of *the mark* and *the name of the beast*¹.

¹ Save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Rev. xiii. 17. The *or*, as our best critics have determined, is spurious.

But, in truth, the name and the mark are substantially *identical*: for the mark is no other than the impression of the name, which (we are told) was branded upon the foreheads of the beast and of all his subjects ¹.

The name and the mark being thus identified, or rather (in absolute strictness of speech) the mark being the stamp or impression of the name, we must, for the purpose of understanding the true import of this first article, attend to what Mr. Mede has well denominated *the system of counter-elements*.

It is said, that the 144,000 saints, who are separated from the gentilising Church of the Roman Empire, received a seal or mark or stigma or impression upon their foreheads: and the mark or stigma thus received, is declared to be *the name of God the Father* ².

In a similar manner, the wild-beast is said to have a mark or stigma or character impressed upon each of his seven heads; which mark is also impressed upon the right hand or upon the forehead of all his subjects: and the mark or stigma, thus impressed, is declared to be the name of the wild-beast;

¹ Even if we retain the spurious *or*, still, as Mr. Mede clearly saw, we shall have no warrant on that account to pronounce, that the mark is *one* thing, and that the name is *another*. In that case, we must view the *or* merely as explanatory.

Character bestiæ non est propriè nisi nominis: ideo dicitur *character seu nomen bestiæ*, et capite sequente *character nominis ejus*. Comment. Apoc. in loc.

² Rev. vii. 3, 4. xiv. 1.

which name is also styled *the name of blasphemy*¹.

Here, then, we have two perfect counter-elements: therefore the principle of homogeneity requires, that the one should be interpreted analogously to the other. Now, the sealing of the 144,000 saints with the name of God denotes the separation of those saints to the pure worship of God; and, consequently, describes the nature of the religion which they professed. Hence, analogously, the branding of the Roman beast and all his adherents with the name of the beast, which is the name of blasphemy, must denote the counter-separation of that beast and his adherents to a blasphemous mode of worship; and, consequently, describes the nature of the religion professed and maintained by them.

This result teaches us, that the name of the beast is not his Gentile appellation, but that it is some name which expresses the nature of his religion: just as the name of God, impressed upon the 144,000 saints, is not their gentile appellation, but a name expressing the nature of their religious worship.

2. *The name of the beast is the name of blasphemy.*

This second article is built upon the first, though it may likewise be established by the very context of the prophecy itself.

¹ Rev. xiii. 1, 16, 17.

The beast is said to bear upon each one of his seven heads the name of blasphemy¹: and, afterward, we are told, that this same beast is distinguished by a peculiar name².

If, then, we compare together these two assertions of the prophet, we are obviously led to conclude, that the peculiar name of the beast is no other than the name of blasphemy or the blasphemous name which he bore conspicuously upon his seven heads.

This, I allow, is not more than a presumption; though it is a presumption, which seems to spring necessarily from the general context of the vision: but the presumption will be changed into certainty, when we advert to the first article. The beast is said to bear, evidently *imprinted*, upon his seven heads, the name of blasphemy: whence, as this single name of blasphemy is seven times repeated, he is also said to be full of names of blasphemy³. But the name, thus *imprinted* on his seven heads, is plainly, from the very circumstance of *its being thus imprinted*, his *mark* or *stigma* or *character*: for the Greek word, by which this mark is described, involves of necessity the idea of a *brand* or *imprinted mark*⁴. The mark, therefore, of the beast is the name of blasphemy imprinted or branded upon each of his seven heads. But the mark of the beast, as

¹ Rev. xiii. 1.

² Rev. xiii. 17, 18.

³ Rev. xiii. 1. xvii. 3.

⁴ Gr. χάραγμα from χαράσσω to engrave or to impress a mark.

we have seen established under the first article, is the impress of that name of the beast which is so enigmatically propounded to us. Therefore the name of the beast, agreeably to the proposition which constitutes our second article, is the name of blasphemy which was imprinted upon each of his seven heads.

We have seen, by our first article, that the name, of which we are in quest, is not the gentile or proper name of the beast, but a name that describes the peculiar nature of his religion. Now this name is, by our second article, determined to be the name of blasphemy. Therefore the name of blasphemy describes the peculiar nature of the beast's religion. But, even in the ordinary language of the Gospels, no less than in the prophetic language of the Apocalypse, *blasphemy* denotes *apostasy*¹. The name, therefore, of blasphemy is the name of apostasy: and, consequently, the name of apostasy describes the peculiar nature of the beast's religion.

Accordingly, *apostasy* is the appellation prophetically bestowed upon it by St. Paul: and he further teaches us, that the apostasy, which he predicted, should mainly consist in a revival of the old pagan worship of demons or of illustrious men canonised after their death².

The name, then, of the beast, being the name of blasphemy or apostasy, must be a name descriptive of the apostatic worship foretold by St. Paul. Yet,

¹ See above book i. chap. i. § I. 14.

² 2 Thess. ii. 3. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3.

while the name must *eminently* describe this precise apostatic worship, it must not describe it *exclusively*. The name of blasphemy is impressed upon *every one* of the beast's seven heads. But five of those heads, having been always strictly pagan, never apostatised from pure Christianity in the manner foretold by St. Paul. Therefore the blasphemy of those five heads must differ from the blasphemy of the other two heads in not being an apostasy from Christianity. Yet, as the same name equally describes the blasphemy of *all* the seven successive heads, the blasphemy of the five, no less than the blasphemy of the two must be an apostasy from that pure worship which alone is pleasing to God. Accordingly, the demonolatry of the ancient Romans was an apostasy from the genuine worship of primeval Patriarchism, just as the demonolatry of the modern Romans is an apostasy from the genuine worship of primitive Christianity. Nor yet are these two kindred forms of blasphemy or apostasy the *only* forms, which the name, impressed upon *all* the heads of the beast, must be viewed as indicating. Blasphemy or apostasy is a departure of *any* description from the sincere faith : hence it may greatly vary, both in kind, and in degree. But still, whatever may be the precise nature of this or that particular departure from the faith of God, the single word *blasphemy* or *apostasy* will equally describe *every* such departure.

Agreeably to this view of the matter, the name of blasphemy, as impressed upon the short-lived

seventh head of the beast, sets forth, not only a demonolatrous apostasy, but likewise an infidel apostasy, from Christianity : just as the name of blasphemy, impressed upon the long-lived first head, sets forth, not only a modern demonolatrous apostasy from Christianity, but likewise an ancient demonolatrous apostasy from Patriarchism.

Yet the single name of blasphemy was impressed upon *all* the seven heads : because, under one modification or another, *all* the seven heads were apostatic in regard to sincere religion. Such being the case, the name of the beast, or the name of blasphemy, must be a name generally descriptive of apostasy from the faith of God : and, as the Apostle wrote in Greek the ordinary language of the New Testament, the most natural presumption is, that the name in question must be sought in the Greek language.

Hence we may conclude, that the name of the beast, or the name expressive of blasphemy, must be some such Greek word as is equivalent in English to THE BLASPHEMER OR THE APOSTATE.

3. *The name of the beast comprehends the number of the beast : and that number is declared to be 666.*

From the second article we learned, that the descriptive name of the beast must be some Greek word, which denotes *the blasphemer* or *the apostate* : we now additionally learn from the third article, that the number 666 is the number produced by the arithmetical letters which compose the

name in question. Hence, we have not only to discover a Greek word which signifies *the blasphemer* or *the apostate* : but we have likewise to discover a word bearing that signification, which, by the sum total of its arithmetical letters, shall produce the number 666.

Now there are two Greek words, which bear the requisite signification ; BLASPHEMUS, and APOSTATÈS ¹. But merely to bear the requisite signification is not alone sufficient. To determine the point, whether *either* of these two words be the intended blasphemous name of the beast, we must resort to what the prophet remarkably calls the *wisdom* of calculating or of summing up their respective arithmetical letters.

With respect to the word BLASPHEMUS, when *mechanically* subjected to this process, for it admits not of any particular *wisdom* in calculation, it brings out the number 1051. Hence it must be rejected : because, though it answers to the test exhibited in the second article, it is found incapable of answering to the test exhibited in the third article.

But the word APOSTATÈS, when (as the prophet speaks) *wisely* and not *superficially* subjected to the same arithmetical process ; that is to say, when calculated, as written *contractedly* in its less obvious Greek form, and not as written *uncontractedly* in its more obvious Greek form ; brings out the

¹ Βλάσφημος and Ἀποστάτης.

precise number 666¹. Hence, provided only it can be made to correspond with the test which will

¹ The word, when written Ἀποσάτης, produces, by its arithmetical letters, the exact sum of 666: but, when written Ἀποστατης, it produces the much larger sum of 1160.

It may be useful to notice, somewhat more at large, the remarkable circumstance, in the computation of the arithmetical letters of the Greek word *Apostatès*, which is here referred to.

1. The prophet tells us, that *to calculate the number of the beast requires a certain measure of wisdom or understanding.*

This expression, though it has been but little attended to, is a singular one. We might, in the abstract, rather imagine, that wisdom would be required to *discover* the name itself, than merely to *sum up* its arithmetical letters when it *should* have been discovered: but St. John remarkably assures us, that the very *calculation* of the letters themselves, even after the *discovery* of the name upon those legitimate and fixed principles of development which he has so carefully laid down, would be an exercise of wisdom or understanding. Yet such we actually find to be the case in the arithmetical computation of the Greek word ἀποσάτης.

1. If we take its amount, letter by letter, when it is written uncontractedly ἀποσάτης, it produces, not the number 666, but the number 1160. Hence, even *after* the true name had been *discovered*, it might easily have been thrown aside, as not answering to the numerical test, simply from a want of what the Apostle calls *wisdom in computation.*

2. But the two Greek letters *sigma* and *tau*, which separately express no less a number than 500, when combined together in the cypher or contraction ς, express only the small number 6. This being the case, when the word is written with the cypher or contraction, instead of being written with the two successive letters each in a separate form, the exact number 666 will be produced. Thus ἀποσάτης is numerically equal to 666; while

be exhibited in the fourth article, it must undoubtedly be received as that blasphemous or apostatic

ἀποστάρης, on the contrary, merely by virtue of its being expressed in a different character, is numerically equal to 1160.

II. Here we may note, both the remarkable usage of the Greek arithmeticians, and the divine art of the sacred penman himself.

1. The Greeks, with a *single exception*, designate numbers by the letters of their alphabet and by two conventional marks which are not letters.

Now *the single exception* is the cypher or contraction, by which they express the two consecutive letters *sigma* and *tau* : and this cypher of those two letters designates the number 6 ; though the two letters themselves, when separate, respectively designate the number 200 and the number 300.

Thus it appears, that the *only* cypher or contraction, which they use in their arithmetical notation, though their mode of writing their language abounds in such instances of stenography, is the cypher of the *sigma* and the *tau* τ ; and that, by writing the word *Apostatès* with this cypher ἀποστάρης, and by then taking its numerical amount, we find it to comprehend the precise sum of 666.

2. Nor is the divine art of the sacred penman *himself* less remarkable.

In expressing the number 666, he does not write it in words at full length, but he writes it in the corresponding numerical letters : and, as if to teach us, that, in writing the name of the 'beast, the cypher of the *sigma* and the *tau* was to be employed rather than those two letters separately ; he himself, in his notation, uses this identical cypher to express the small number 6, rather than the two letters *alpha* and *epsilon* by which conjointly the number 6 might equally have been expressed. He writes the number 666 χξτ, not χξαε which is exactly equivalent.

name of the beast which forms the subject of the prophet's enigma.

III. From what has been said, I am much inclined to think, that, even independently of other objections, the very phraseology of the Apostle shuts out every name which has been adduced as the name of the beast, save only the single name *Apostatès*.

1. In the arithmetical computation of such names as *Vicarius Filii Dei* or *Vicarius Dei generalis in terris*, there is nothing of what St. John describes as *calculative wisdom*. Whatever ingenuity there may be in the *construction* or the *discovery* of such titles, there assuredly is none in the bare *reckoning up* of their component numerical letters when they are constructed or discovered. A computation of this nature requires no *wisdom*: the veriest school-boy, with a slate and a pencil, is fully equal to the task. Hence, according to the remarkable phraseology of the prophet, no name of *simple* computation can be the name alluded to.

2. Much stress has often been laid upon the alleged adduction of the name *Latinus* even by so early a writer as Irenæus, who flourished in the second century.

This, at the first, may seem plausible. Yet, if those commentators, who build upon the authority of Irenæus, had troubled themselves to read the very next sentence to that, in which, as a random guess, he throws out the word *Latinus*; they would have perceived, that he immediately discards it in favour of the word *Titan*, which he pronounces to be the most probable of all the names that contain the number 666: but, respecting even this favourite word *Titan*, he declares, that he will not be peremptory. See Iren. adv. hæc. lib. v. c. 25. § 5.

As for the word *Latinus*, it *cannot* be the name of the beast: for, in the first place, it is not a descriptive name of blasphemy; and, in the second place, it does not contain the fated number 666. That number can only be elicited from it, by writing it, with the broad *ει*, *Λατεινός*. But I much incline to believe,

4. This fourth article is, that *The number of the beast, or the number 666 produced by the letters of his name, is also the number of a man.*

that no instance can be found, in which it is ever thus expressed by a Greek writer. The form employed, is, I believe, uniformly *Λατίνοϛ*. If Lycophron writes *ὑπὲρ Λατίνοϛ*, his commentator Tzetzes subjoins *ἀπὸ Λατίνοϛ*. Lycoph. Alex. 1254.

IV. At the close of these remarks, I cannot refrain from noticing the very singular manner in which the contraction or cypher *ς* came to be employed for the purpose of expressing the number 6.

1. *Originally* it had no such power: and it gained it, if I mistake not, by the disappearance of a very ancient letter from the Greek alphabet, to which the power in question *properly* appertained.

In the primitive arithmetical notation of the Greeks, their sixth letter expressed the number 6, correspondently to the analogous powers of their five first letters and their seventh letter. But, when their sixth letter, the *digamma* or **F**, vanished from its old station between the *epsilon* and the *zeta*, the Greeks lost the element by which they had been accustomed to express the number 6: for the *epsilon*, as before, still continued to have the power of the number 5; and the *zeta*, as before, still continued to have the power of the number 7. An arithmetical hiatus was thus produced between the two numerical letters *epsilon* and *zeta*: and it became necessary to supply the place of the ancient expelled *digamma*. For this purpose, the cypher *ς* was adopted: and the most probable reason of its otherwise arbitrary adoption is that, in form, it bore an indistinct resemblance to the lost *digamma*; for, if the **F** were hastily written in what we should call *running hand*, it would not be very dissimilar in shape to the cypher *ς*.

2. The whole circumstance, on account of its results, may at least be deemed curious.

If the old sixth letter **F** had never vanished from its place be-

The number of the beast is the number of the

tween the fifth letter ϵ and the seventh letter ζ , we may be quite sure, that the cypher ς would never have been introduced in its stead for the purpose of expressing the number 6: and, if the cypher ς had not been introduced into the place of the old sixth letter F for the purpose of expressing the number 6, the word $\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$, or, when contractedly written, $\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$, would not have arithmetically contained the number 666.

3. It is with reluctance that I differ from Bp. Marsh as to the precise mode in which the cypher ς acquired the arithmetical power of 6: because the person, who ventures to differ on such topics from that eminently learned Prelate, may well suspect, that *he himself*, and not *the Bishop*, is in error.

Dr. Marsh and myself *both* account, for the otherwise inexplicable circumstance of the cypher ς occupying the place of the *digamma* with the *digamma*'s ancient power of 6, on the ground of the similarity observable in the respective forms of the two notations: but Dr. Marsh *derives* the form of the ς from the form of the *digamma*, on the principle of rounding off its angles in the writing of running-hand; whereas I can only view the ς as *introduced* into the place of the abdicated *digamma*, on account of an *already subsisting and quite independently accidental resemblance*.

I confess myself unable to comprehend, how the form of a cypher, which expresses the two letters S and T, can have been *derived*, through the medium of running-hand writing, from the form of the old *digamma*, which expressed the letter F or V. It is easy to conceive, that the cypher may have been brought into the arithmetical place of the *digamma*, on account of an *already existing accidental resemblance*: but, it is difficult to conceive, how the form of the cypher can have been *derived* from the form of the *digamma*.

I may possibly have misapprehended the Bishop: but certainly his language is, that the form of the cypher ς *arose out of the original form* of the *digamma*. See Horæ Pelasg. part i. chap. 3. p. 78—80.

beast's name : whence, analogously, the number of a man is the number of the intended man's name. But the number of the beast's name is 666 : and this same number 666 is declared to be also the number of a man. Therefore the number 666, which is comprehended in the name of the beast, is also comprehended in the name of the particular man to whom the prophet alludes. Now the name of the beast, being the name of blasphemy, is not a proper name, but a descriptive name. Therefore, analogously, the name of the man must be a descriptive name exhibiting his character, not a proper name specifying his personal individuality.

Such being the joint nature both of the beast's name and of the man's name, it is evident, that the descriptive name of the one must be identical with the descriptive name of the other : at least, on what is called *the doctrine of chances*, the presumption is so strong as to amount to a moral certainty. The name, therefore, of the man, like the name of the beast, is *Apostatès* : and this identity of name is the more established by the circumstance, that the second beast compels all the subjects of the first beast to receive the impression of his name either upon their right hands or upon their foreheads. For thus it appears, that the descriptive name of the beast, the descriptive name of every one of his subjects, and the descriptive name of some special man apparently so designated by way of eminence, are all alike one and the same name *Apostatès*. Hence it will follow, that, the

name of the man being ascertained, we have only to inquire, *what* man in particular may be reasonably and scripturally determined, to be the specific man intended.

With respect to this man, it may be observed : both that he must be some very eminent person ; and that he must stand in close politico-theological connection with the beast, whose number and whose name he thus specially participates. It may also be added, that, since he is thus *peculiarly* branded as *an apostate* in the midst of a multitude of minor and less influential *apostates*, we may fairly expect : both that he will be a *peculiar* subject of scriptural prophecy ; and that he will there be reprobated under the precise aspect of *an apostate*, who is the leader of *apostates*, or who is the spiritual head of *an apostasy* commensurate with the dominions of the beast whose own descriptive name is *Apostatès*.

Now it is hard to discover any man, to whom this mingled character will answer with more special propriety, than the extraordinary person foretold by St. Paul under the appellation of *The man of sin*. We have shewn, that the person, thus designated, is the same as he who presides in the little horn or kingdom of Daniel's fourth beast : and we shall presently shew, that, under the title of *the false prophet*, he is the same also as the head of that second apocalyptic beast or Empire which forms the prominent subject of the next section of the little book. Hence he is, at once, a

most conspicuous character, and a person standing in the very closest politico-theological connection with the beast whose number is 666. Nor is this all. St. Paul connects the revelation of the man of sin with the coming of a great *Apostasy*: and, in fact, by the revelation of that lawless one as its ostensible head, the *Apostasy* in question is completed. The man of sin, therefore, the head of the *Apostasy*, the very *dux gregis*, is of course himself preëminently *the Apostate*.

Hence, I think, we can scarcely doubt, that the *man* in the Apocalypse, whose descriptive name is *Apostatès* and whose number is 666, is no other than the person, whom St. Paul denominates *the man of sin*, and whom he represents as presiding over a great *apostasy* from the sincere faith of the Gospel. In a word, the *man*, who participates the descriptive name and number of the beast, is the Roman Pontiff.

CHAPTER V.

RESPECTING THE FOURTH SECTION OF THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK, OR THE VISION OF THE TWO-HORNED BEAST OF THE EARTH.

To complete his account of the great promoters and upholders of the demonolatrous Apostasy, it now only remains, that St. John should describe the spiritual Power, by the instigation of which the secular ten-horned beast is led to persecute the saints of God during the allotted space of 1260 natural years.

Accordingly, he devotes the fourth section of the little book to a development of the character of this tyrannical Empire within an Empire, under the symbol of a second beast coëxisting and coöperating with the first beast : and afterward, when he returns to the larger sealed book, he yet further exhibits both its essential nature and its close connection with the secular beast, under the hieroglyphic of a harlot riding upon that secular beast or of an ecclesiastical community guiding the actions of the apostatic Empire which the secular beast represents.

As these two allied symbols, the second beast and the harlot, mutually illustrate each other, I shall consider them, in one and the same prolonged discussion, successively and conjointly.

I. The description of the second beast occurs, as

I have stated, in the fourth section of the little open book : and it is couched in terms following.

I beheld another wild-beast coming up from the earth : and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first wild-beast before him : and he causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first wild-beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he doeth great wonders, in order that he may make fire even come down from heaven upon the earth, in the sight of men. And he deceiveth those, who dwell upon the earth, 'by' the wonders which it was given him to do in the sight of the wild-beast : saying to them, that dwell on the earth, to make an image for the wild-beast, which hath the wound of the sword and yet lived. And it was given unto him to give life unto the wild-beast's image, in order that the wild-beast's image should even speak, and in order that he might cause that as many as would not worship the wild-beast's image should be killed¹. And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, that they should give to them a mark upon their right hand or upon their foreheads : and that no man might be able to buy or to sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the wild-beast or the number of his name².

¹ That is to say, the *beast*, not the *image*, might cause. See Doddridge and Woodhouse in loc.

² Rev. xiii. 11—17.

1. In the symbolical language of prophecy, a wild-beast denotes a persecuting and idolatrous Empire, as contradistinguished from a horn or the smaller included domination of a persecuting and idolatrous kingdom.

(1.) Now St. John, in the Apocalypse, brings upon the stage *two* wild-beasts or *two* persecuting and idolatrous Empires: the one bearing ten horns, or comprehending ten kingdoms; the other distinguished by two horns, or containing two kingdoms. Yet these two Empires, instead of being successive, are contemporary: and, instead of being mutually at variance, are described as linked together in the most intimate friendship. For the second Empire evidently plays the part of an ally to the first: and nothing can be more clear, than that they are both engaged in one and the same unhallowed warfare against the people of God.

Daniel, however, declares, that, in the great calendar of prophecy, the ten-horned or Roman beast is the last secular Empire, with which the fortunes of the Church should be specially connected; and he is wholly silent respecting his contemporaneity and alliance with any other beast, though he represents him as being strangely under the influence of his own eleventh or supernumerary little horn: while St. John, on the contrary, who mentions with equal explicitness the ten-horned or Roman beast, is altogether silent respecting the eleventh little horn, though he represents him as influenced in the very same manner by a second beast or a second Empire.

Hence, as the same actions and the same influence during the same period of time are ascribed to the eleventh little horn by Daniel and to the second beast by St. John, we are led, almost of absolute necessity, to identify the eleventh little horn of the one prophecy with the second beast of the other prophecy ¹. But, if the second beast symbolise the same Power as the eleventh little horn; then the second beast, which undoubtedly represents an Empire of *some* description, must represent a spiritual, and not a secular, Empire: for the eleventh little Roman horn, as we have already seen, typifies the spiritual domination of the Papacy, small originally, but afterward acquiring a look more stout than any one of its ten secular colleagues ².

(2.) The voice of history directs us to the very same result, as abstract reasoning from the mere contexture of the prophecy.

That the ten-horned beast of Daniel and St. John is a symbol of the secular Roman Empire, from first to last, under all its different political forms, cannot for a moment be doubted. But no independent *secular* Empire has ever performed to the Roman Empire the part, which the two-horned apocalyptic beast performs to the ten-horned beast. Therefore the event itself has demonstrated, that the two-horned beast cannot typify a secular Empire. But, if it do not typify

¹ Compare Dan. vii. 8, 11, 21, 25, 26, with Rev. xiii. 5, 7, 12, 15, 16, 17. xix. 20.

² See above book iii. chap. 2. § IV. 2.

a secular Empire, it can only typify a spiritual Empire.

(3.) In fact, St. John himself, with abundant clearness and precision, sets forth the true political nature of the second beast.

He styles it *a false prophet* or *a corrupt and erroneous teacher of religion*¹. But, if such be its character, it must be a spiritual or ecclesiastical Empire.

2. Thus, under whatever aspect the matter be viewed, we are still brought to the same conclusion, that an ecclesiastical Empire is represented by the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse.

The question, then, is, *what* ecclesiastical Empire, contemporary with the secular Roman Empire, can be intended by the symbol of the two-horned beast.

Now, in history, no other consistent antitype can be discovered for the two-horned beast, save the ecclesiastical Empire of the Papacy; a conclusion, to which we have already been incidentally drawn when inquiring into the specific political nature of that beast: for, since the prosecution of this inquiry led us to identify the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse with the eleventh little horn of Daniel's ten-horned beast, and since the eleventh little horn of Daniel's ten-horned beast has been

¹ Compare Rev. xiii. 12—17, with xix. 20. The false prophet, as Bp. Newton justly remarks, is a body or succession of men propagating false doctrines and teaching lies for sacred truths.

shewn to symbolise the spiritual domination of the Roman Pontiff; the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse must doubtless symbolise the spiritual domination of the Roman Pontiff also.

On these grounds, I fully agree with Mr. Mede, that the false prophet or the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse represents the line of the Roman Pontiffs at the head of their clergy, or, in other words, the widely-extended spiritual Empire of the Latin Church as administered by the Pope at the head of his hierarchy¹. For, in the present vision, we have a plain prediction of some *ecclesiastical* Power: which should come in the name of God, as a sound evangelical prophet or preacher, though in truth a false prophet; which should arrogate to itself the supremacy in all religious matters; which should cöexist, upon the most friendly terms, with

¹ Comment. Apoc. in loc. Some, I believe, have fancied, that Mohammed or Mohammedism is the false prophet in the Apocalypse.

This notion, upon a hasty and superficial view, may seem plausible: but it will not bear the severity of close examination.

To omit other points which might easily be specified, the marked dissimilitude in one single important particular is alone sufficient to demonstrate, that Mohammedism *cannot* have been intended by the false prophet or the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse. The two-horned prophetic beast is the intimate friend and ally and coadjutor of the ten-horned beast or the secular Roman Empire. But Mohammedism, both theologically and politically, has ever been the sworn and avowed foe of that Empire. Therefore Mohammedism cannot be the false prophet or the two-horned beast of the Apocalypse.

the ten-horned secular Roman Empire, instigating the temporal princes of that Empire to persecute with fire and sword, during the space of 42 prophetic months or 1260 natural years, all such as should dare to dispute its usurped domination; and which, in short, should solve the symbolical problem of *two* allied contemporary beasts, by exhibiting to the world the singular spectacle of a complete Empire within an Empire. Where we are to look for this Power, since the great secular Roman beast, in the fifth and sixth centuries, put forth his ten western horns, let the impartial voice of history determine: and that voice without hesitation will declare, that the Ecclesiastical Empire, of which the Pope is the allowed head, can alone answer to the prophetic description of such a Power. At its first rise, the Papal Monarchy appears in the vision of Daniel, only as an eleventh little horn springing out of the secular Roman beast: but that little horn is represented, as soon becoming very powerful, and as influencing the actions of all the other ten horns. Now, at this point of time, St. John takes up the subject. When, in the year 604, the saints were given into the hand of the little horn by the unanimous submission of all the ten horns: then the Ecclesiastical Kingdom of the Papacy became a well-compacted Ecclesiastical Empire. Hence, in the quality of an Ecclesiastical Empire, allied indeed to the Secular Empire, but claiming a complete independence upon it, the Papal Sovereignty is represented by St. John under the symbol of a

distinct wild-beast having a proper head and proper horns of its own.

3. Completely, however, to establish this interpretation of the present symbol, it will be necessary to consider, article by article, the several peculiarities which mark the prophetic character of the two-horned wild-beast.

(1.) *The second beast of the Apocalypse sprang up from the earth : and it is described, as being another beast perfectly distinct from the first.*

Abstractedly, the earth symbolises the territorial platform of any given Empire : whence, concretely, it denotes, throughout the Apocalypse, the territorial platform of the Roman Empire ; because the Roman Empire is the Empire treated of throughout that prophecy ¹. But the spiritual or ecclesiastical Power, represented by the second beast, springs up from the apocalyptic earth. Therefore the ecclesiastical Power in question must be sought for, as springing up within the limits of the Roman Empire.

To this geographical description the Ecclesiastical Empire of the Papacy minutely answers. It sprang up within the limits of the Roman Empire : and the policy of its ruler has ever been, to separate it from the Secular Empire, to keep it perfectly distinct as an Empire within an Empire, and thus never to suffer it to lose its marked prophetic character of *another* beast. Hence originated the avowed maxim, that the clergy owe obedience to *two* sove-

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.)

reigns, their spiritual prince and their temporal prince; that their duty, however, binds them to a much stronger attachment to the former than to the latter; and, consequently, that, whenever the commands of their temporal prince contradict those of their spiritual prince, such commands are not to be obeyed ¹.

(2.) *The second beast had two horns springing from his head, like the horns of a lamb.*

As the secular beast is represented with seven heads and ten horns, so the ecclesiastical beast appears with one head and two horns. Now the secular beast, under his first and seventh heads, during the period of the latter 1260 years, is the Secular Roman Empire viewed as existing successively under the Roman Emperorship and the Francic Emperorship. Hence it will follow, that the ecclesiastical beast, under his single head, who, during that same period, has coëxisted and coöperated with the secular beast, must be the corrupt Spiritual Empire of the Roman Church under the guidance of its sole head the sovereign Pontiff.

¹ When Edward the first of England wished to impose a tax upon the Clergy, *the primate plainly told him, that the Clergy owed obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and their temporal; but that their duty bound them to a much stricter attachment to the former than to the latter. They could not, therefore, comply with his commands, which were directly contrary to the positive prohibition of the sovereign Pontiff.* Hist. of England in Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxix or xlv. p. 205, 206.

The head, however, of the ecclesiastical beast is furnished with two horns. But, in the language of symbols, horns are kingdoms. Therefore the two horns of the ecclesiastical beast must be two ecclesiastical kingdoms. Now the most consistent and intelligible idea, which we can annex to an Ecclesiastical Kingdom included within an Ecclesiastical Empire and ultimately subservient to the head of that Empire, is that of a regularly organised body of ecclesiastics, subject primarily to their own immediate superior, and ultimately to the head of the whole Empire. If, then, the Spiritual Empire of the Papacy be intended by the second apocalyptic beast, and if the line of the Roman Pontiffs be symbolised by the head of that beast; the Spiritual Empire of the Papacy must comprehend two such Ecclesiastical Kingdoms: that is to say, it must comprehend within its pale two regularly organised bodies of ecclesiastics, distinct from each other, and subject primarily to their respective superiors and ultimately to the sovereign Pontiff.

On such principles, I incline to think, that the two horns of the second beast, through the medium of which he pushes at his enemies and exerts his own appalling strength, are those two collective ecclesiastical bodies, which the Roman Church denominates *the Regular Clergy* and *the Secular Clergy*. The first of these classes comprehends all the various monastic orders, which live by the rule of their institution: the second comprehends the whole mass of the clergy, who, by presiding over

dioceses or parishes, mingle with the world, and thus in Latin phraseology become secularised.

These two classes, then, I conceive to be the two ecclesiastical horns or kingdoms of the Spiritual Empire of the Papacy: and they fully answer to their anticipated character; for, being subject first to their own particular superiors and ultimately to the sovereign Pontiff as the head of the whole Empire, they are the two main instruments or engines, by which the lamb-like beast punishes his enemies, domineers over his lay subjects, and augments his own usurped power¹.

To the prophet, the two horns of the ecclesiastical beast appeared to be of a different form from those of the secular beast: at least, he specially describes them as resembling the horns of a lamb.

Now, throughout the Apocalypse, a lamb is employed as a symbol of the Messiah. Hence, when the ecclesiastical beast is said to have two horns like

¹ For an account of the construction of these two Ecclesiastical Kingdoms and of their systematic vassalage to their feudal suzerain the chief of the great Latin Patriarchate, see Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 172. vol. iv. p. 184. vol. iii. p. 195, 204. Sir Isaac Newton's *Observ. on Dan.* p. 90, 91, 109—111, 113. Gibbon's *Hist. of Decline*, vol. viii. p. 165, 166. Puffendorf's *Introduct. to the Hist. of Europe*, p. 380, 381. Lord Lyttelton's *Hist. of Henry II.* vol. i. p. 102. The oath of allegiance, which is taken to the Pope by the dignitaries of the Roman Church in every country throughout Christendom, is in the precise form of the oath, which was wont to be taken by a vassal to his suzerain. It is given at full length by Mr. Whitaker in his *Comment. on the Rev.* p. 408.

the horns of a lamb, we are effectively told, that he should preëminently claim the character of an ecclesiastical servant of Christ.

This construction of the symbol exactly accords with the verbal intimation, that the second beast should be a false prophet.

The purport, consequently, of the whole, amounts to this. The Ecclesiastical Empire, represented by the second beast, will specially claim to be the true prophet or minister of the Lamb : but, however he may assume the outward form of a lamb, he is to be regarded by the faithful only in the light of a false prophet or an insincere minister of the Gospel of Christ.

(3.) *Accordingly, he may be known by his voice : for, notwithstanding his lamb-like appearance, the second beast, we are told, spake like a dragon.*

As a lamb is the apocalyptic symbol of Christ, so a dragon is the apocalyptic symbol of Satan. We are informed, therefore, that the Ecclesiastical Empire, represented by the second beast, should wear the external aspect indeed of a Christian Church, but that the tone and spirit of its doctrines and its edicts should be the very tone and spirit of the infernal serpent himself.

With this description the whole conduct of the Roman Church has perfectly agreed. She has inculcated and enforced apostatic idolatry by fire and sword : she has anathematised and persecuted to death the faithful servants of Christ : she has es-

teemed every lie and every imposture, which advanced her authority, a laudable and even pious fraud : she has taught, that no faith is to be kept with heretics : she has pronounced, that an oath, which contravenes ecclesiastical utility (the nature of such utility, in any particular instance, being left to her own discretionary explanation), is not binding upon the conscience : and she has sanctioned rebellion and murder by publicly and authoritatively maintaining, that kings, excommunicated by the Pope, may be lawfully deposed and murdered by their subjects ¹.

(4.) *The second beast exercises all the power of the first beast before him.*

In the year 604, when the saints by the unanimous submission of the ten western horns were given into the hand of the Papacy, and when an Ecclesiastical Empire was thus erected upon the platform of the Roman earth, that collateral prophecy began to be accomplished, which declares, that the ten kingdoms should have one mind, and should give their power and strength to the beast and to his harlot-rider by the strenuous upholding of those apostatic principles which stamped upon the divided Secular Empire its predicted bestial character ².

The consequence of such unanimity on the part

¹ See Concil. Later. III. can. xvi. xxvii. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 1517, 1522, 1523. Dictat. Papæ Gregor. VII. in Epist. lib. ii. epist. 55. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 110, 111.

² Rev. xvii. 13.

of the ten horns was an extraordinary exercise of authority on the part of the ecclesiastical beast. From the time of Numa to that of Augustus, the spiritual office of *Pontifex Maximus* had always been filled by one of the most eminent senators: and, when the first head awoke from its long slumber, that office was united to the Imperial Dignity. But, upon the conversion of the Empire to Christianity, the distinction of the *spiritual* and *temporal* powers was first introduced¹. When the Christian Emperors renounced the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, it was assumed by the Bishop of Rome: and thus, henceforth, the second beast, having acquired the ancient supremacy of the first beast in spiritual matters, and having fully engaged the secular authorities within his own allotted peculium of the West to carry all his commands into execution, exercised, in the immediate presence of his secular colleague, all the power which that colleague possessed.

(5.) *The second beast causes the earth and all that dwell therein to worship the first beast whose deadly wound was healed.*

As the blasphemy of the beast denotes his apostasy from the exclusive worship of the one true God to the predicted joint worship of demons or canonised mortals: so the worship, paid to the dragon and to the beast, will antithetically denote an apostatic devotion to the corrupt theological system

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. iii. p. 280—284.

adopted by the beast and secretly excogitated by the dragon.

In promoting such apostatic worship, the ecclesiastical beast is most accurately described by the prophet as being the main agent : and his success is so great, that the earth and all that dwell therein, or the Roman Empire and all its political members, are induced to adopt and to love it.

(6.) *The second beast performs great wonders, in order that he may make fire come down from heaven upon earth in the sight of men.*

Heaven is a symbol of the Church under its spiritual governors : the earth, throughout the Apocalypse, typifies the territorial platform of the Roman Empire : and fire or lightning represents penal wrath.

The present clause, therefore, of the prophecy declares, that, through the aid of specious miracles, the Ecclesiastical Empire, symbolised by the second beast, should establish an universally acknowledged right of hurling the excommunicative thunderbolts of the Church against any such kingdoms or princes of the Secular Empire as should prove disobedient and refractory.

It is superfluous to point out the exact completion of this oracle in the claims and practices of the Roman Church. I need only to remark, that the avowed basis, upon which those claims and practices repose, is that alleged possession of miraculous powers, which, according to Bellarmine and other doctors of the same school, is one of the most certain marks of the true Church of Christ.

(7.) *The second beast deceives them that dwell on the earth, by means of those pretended miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the first beast: for, by the authority of those pretended miracles, he induces them to make an image for the beast, which had the wound by a sword and yet was resuscitated.*

Before the prophetic import of this clause can be determined, its verbal meaning must obviously be ascertained: for, otherwise, an exposition may be framed, specious indeed in its appearance, but yet altogether foreign from the true sense of the oracle itself.

The expression *the image of the beast*, and the expression *the beast and his image* which elsewhere occurs,¹ are both abstractedly ambiguous: because, so far as the word *image* is concerned, they may signify, either *the effigies of the beast*, or *the idol which belongs to the beast*. Thus *the image of Cesar*, when the Roman coin is spoken of, means no doubt *the effigies of Cesar*¹: but *the image of Micah*, when the whole context of that individual's history is considered, certainly means *the image which belonged to Micah* or *the idol which he had made for the purpose of some superstitious veneration*².

Had, then, no other expressions occurred in the Apocalypse, except *the image of the beast* and

¹ Matt. xxii. 19—21.

² Judg. xviii. 31.

the beast and his image, we should have been unable positively to determine what precise idea we ought to annex to this image: but all ambiguity seems to be removed by the manner, in which the Apostle introduces his account of it. It is said, that the second beast so deceived the inhabitants of the earth by his false miracles, that he induced them to make an image *to* or *for* the first beast.

Now it is surely putting a very great force upon language to suppose, that *the making an image for the first beast* can signify *the making a representation of him*. When we read in the decalogue, *Thou shalt not make UNTO thee any graven image*; we are at no loss to understand the import of the prohibition. It is manifest, that, in this passage, *the making an image to a person's self* denotes *the making an image for his own use and worship*. Hence it is well nigh imperative upon us to conclude, that, in an exactly parallel passage, *the making of an image to the beast* signifies *the making of an image for the use and worship of the beast*¹. From such a conclusion, therefore, it results, that *the image of the beast* imports, not *the effigies of the beast*, but *the image which the beast adored*².

¹ That the parallelism of the passages may the more distinctly appear, I cite them both, in the Greek of the Seventy, and in the Greek of St. John. The Seventy write: Οὐ ποιήσεις ΣΕΑΥΤΩ εἰδωλον. St. John writes: Πιῆσαι εἰκόνα ΤΩ ΘΗΡΩ. In each passage, the grammatical construction is precisely the same.

² To avoid all ambiguity, and to give what I believe to be the

This being the case, the import of the clause will be, that the ecclesiastical beast, acquiring a strange influence over the abused inhabitants of the Roman world, should, by the instrumentality of pretended miracles, though in plain opposition to the express word of God, introduce image-worship throughout the dominions of the secular beast.

As was the prediction, so has been the event. In the course of the eighth century, the Emperor Leo Isauricus had suppressed image-worship at Constantinople and in the East: and he attempted to do the same in his provincial Italian dominions. Upon this he was informed by Pope Gregory the second, that he exceeded his proper commission by interfering in spiritual matters: and he was taught, that, although the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate, the more formidable weapon of excommunication is entrusted to the clergy, who will not spare a heretic even though he be seated upon a throne: *You accuse the Catholics of idolatry*, said the Pontiff in one of his epistles to Leo: *and, by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance*. He then proceeds to point out to the undiscerning Emperor the distinction between pagan idols and Christian images. *The former were the fanciful representations of phantoms or demons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness:*

true sense of the original, I have translated εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου, *the beast's image*, rather than *the image of the beast*.

the latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints ; who had approved, BY A CROWD OF MIRACLES, the innocence and merit of this relative worship. Leo, however, dissatisfied with this luminous exposition of the precept in the decalogue, brought to a practical issue the important dispute, whether the worship of images ought to be maintained or abolished : and the result of the struggle was the ruin of his affairs in Italy and the complete establishment of catholic idolatry in the Western Patriarchate. Nor was A MIRACLE wanting, in this grand contest, to decide the orthodoxy of image-worship. For the purpose of recovering his Italian dominions, Leo invaded the Exarchate and prepared to besiege Ravenna. Upon this occasion, *the women and clergy, in sackcloth and ashes, lay prostrate in prayer : the men were in arms for the defence of their country : and the event of a battle was preferred to the slow miseries of a siege. In a hard-fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and advanced,* A PHANTOM WAS SEEN, A VOICE WAS HEARD : *and Ravenna was victorious by the assurance of victory. The institution of an annual feast perpetuated THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES and the abhorrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidst the triumph of the catholic arms, the Roman Pontiff convened a synod of ninety three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts : and, with their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all, who, by word or deed, should*

attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints ¹.

In this manner, did the second beast cause the deluded inhabitants of the Roman earth to make an image for the first beast: and, to what an extent the worship of that image was at length carried, is best shewn by the declaration of a Prelate, who, less cautious or more honest than certain of his apologetic brethren, has stoutly exhibited and explained and defended the idolatry of his Church in all its naked and unblushing deformity.

We must not only confess, says James Naclantias Bishop of Clugium, *that the faithful in the Church worship BEFORE an image (as some oversqueamish persons are wont to speak); but that, without the least scruple, THEY ADORE THE VERY IMAGE ITSELF, paying to it the SAME worship as they pay to its prototype. So that, if they worship the prototype with DIVINE HONOUR, they also worship the image with DIVINE HONOUR: or, if they worship the prototype with different degrees of subordinate adoration, they also worship the image with the same degrees* ².

¹ Hist. of Decline, vol. ix. p. 112—141. It is not altogether unworthy of observation, that the precise word *εἰκὼν*, used by St. John, is the word employed to describe the images which receive the adoration of the apostate Church. Hence was formed the compound title of *Iconoclast* or *the image-breaker*, which was borne by the Emperor Leo and his party.

² Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare CORAM imagine (ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur), sed

This extraordinary decision of a learned Roman doctor, who seems to have been a perfect *helluo* of idolatry, was actually printed at Venice, not during the Cimmerian darkness of the middle ages, but in the reign of our own Elisabeth and after the torch of religious light had been rekindled at the Reformation: nor am I aware, that it ever incurred the censure of the Vatican.

(8.) *The second beast had power to give life to the image, in order that the image should even speak.*

* As the pretended miracles of the ecclesiastical beast are simply called *miracles*; so the simulated life, which he bestowed upon the image, is simply denominated *life*. In each case, however, imposture is plainly implied, and ought doubtless to be understood¹. St. John, I apprehend, beheld, in his vision, the image apparently discharging the functions of animal life; precisely as it seemed to discharge them in the eyes of those, who were induced to bow down before it: for all the marvel-

et ADORARE IMAGINEM sine quo volueris scrupulo; quin et eo illam venerantur cultu, quo et prototypon ejus: propter quod si illud habet adorare LATRIA, et illa LATRIA; si dulia vel hyperdulia, et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est. Jac. Naclant. Episc. Clug. Comment. in Rom. i. cited in the Homily against Peril of Idolatry.

¹ St. Paul, accordingly, tells us, in explicit terms, that the miracles, wrought by the man of sin, should be mere *lying* wonders or rank *impositions* upon the credulity of those who should be given up to a strong delusion. 2 Thess. ii. 9. See Farmer's Dissert. on Miracles, chap. iii. sect. 4. § IV, V.

lous stories, which are told respecting the consecrated images, are by no means to be rejected as mere fabrications. To the deluded populace they *did* appear both to speak and to move and to be instinct with life : for, in truth, the ridiculous puppets, which by the ecclesiastical beast were held forth to the blind adoration of the secular beast, were so contrived with internal springs as to be easily worked by a concealed operator ; whose voice, at proper intervals, seemed to issue from the mouth of the miraculous image itself.

These juggling tricks were the boast of a profligate hierarchy : and they employed them, with much success, in the promotion of idolatry¹. At the time of the Reformation, the machinery, employed for such nefarious purposes, was, in many instances, actually discovered : and nothing tended so much to wean the people from their attachment to image-worship as the public exposure of the contemptible tricks employed by the popish ecclesiastics².

¹ See Jurieu's *Contin. of the Accompl. of Proph.* chap. xix. *Her images*, remarks M. Jurieu, *have SPOKEN*.

² See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reform.* vol. i. p. 243. Similar mummeries have been exhibited even in the present generation. In the year 1796, upon the approach of the republican French, various miraculous appearances are asserted to have been observed at Rome. Pictures of Madonnas opened and shut their eyes : images of saints altered their position : and crucifixes moved their eyelids. See Zouch on *Prophecy*, p. 180. and Phillpotts's *Supplem. Letter*, p. 22—38.

The rationale of these pretended miracles was doubtless the

(9.) *When the second beast had thus given apparent life to the image, he caused those to be slain who refused to worship it.*

prevailing notion, that the divine energy of the saint, represented by the puppet, was *physically* or *personally* present in the puppet itself. As the existence of this paganising superstition is acknowledged and lamented by Erasmus (Erasm. Epist. lib. xxxi. epist. 47.): so is it openly avowed and defended, as a matter of undoubted orthodoxy, by Peter de Medrano. I subjoin his own words, that our liberalising Protestants of the present day may see the doctrines inculcated by the Latin Clergy upon the Latin Laity.

Dicendum sit, concessum Deiparæ Dominæ privilegium assistendi, *physicè* et *realiter*, in aliquibus simulachris seu imaginibus:—quod, in aliquibus simulachris seu imaginibus ipsius, *Piè credatur, assistere, adesseque, personaliter, physicè, et realiter*:—ut in illis *debitas adorationes* recipiat à fidelibus cultoribus. R. P. Petri de Medran. Rosetum Theologic. p. 311. Hispal. A.D. 1702. See Lewis's Life of Bp. Pecock, p. 79.

This strange notion accounts for the fact, that some of the dolls, which are decorated with the name of *Madonnas*, are deemed so much more holy and more influential than others. If, as the worthy Bishop of Aire would persuade us, images are, in the Roman Church, esteemed nothing more than useful aids to devout recollection; *all* images, under such a view of the question, must be *alike*: the use of *no one in particular* could be more beneficial than the use of *any other of its fellows*. But, in point of *fact*, this, as we all know, is by no means the case. Our Lady of *this* place is a far more important and influential personage, than our Lady of *that* place: and, as such, she receives from the faithful a much larger share of the *debita adoratio* recommended by Peter de Medrano. Now, on the modest theory of the Bishop of Aire, this could not possibly be the case: but the *Piè credatur*, enforced by the devout Peter, accounts

To the idols of Popery, thus set up to be the gods of the Christian Church, it may be said with truth, that no fewer human victims have been immolated than to the demon-gods of Paganism.

at once, in the most satisfactory manner, for the immense reputed superiority of one Madonna above another. Our Lady, it seems, is pleased to honour some of her images with a much more abundant portion of her *physical* or *real* or *personal* presence, than she deigns to vouchsafe to others : and these highly distinguished puppets are thence, of course, worthy of especial adoration.

It may be said, that the Church of Rome has not, through the medium of an ecumenical Council, distinctly recognised the miserable superstition before us ; and, consequently, that she is not bound to answer for the inculcation of the doctrine, lamented by Erasmus, and lauded by Peter de Medrano.

This is the usual resource of modern apologists for the Latin Church : but it cannot be allowed to avail them, until they shall have fully shewn, that such teachers as Peter de Medrano have been censured and silenced, and that the adoption of his fancies by the Laity has been strictly and explicitly prohibited as downright heresy, by the authority of the sovereign Pontiff, in his capacity of head of the Catholic Church and Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ. If the Pope, *knowingly* and *without any censure*, allows such superstition to be taught by the Clergy and to be received by the Laity, he clearly makes himself *particeps criminis* : for, by so doing, he virtually recognises the superstition in question as part and parcel of Roman orthodoxy. What should we think of the English Bishops, if they allowed *their* Clergy, without the least censure, to inculcate upon the Laity the *Pie credatur* of Peter de Medrano ? Should we not say, that, by such conduct, they, to all intents and purposes, converted a mere *individual* superstition into absolute *public* property ? In a word, has Peter de Medrano ever been censured by his ecclesiastical superiors ?

During the long and dreary period of almost incessant persecution, to which the two ancient and venerable Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenes were subjected, one special mark of heresy was a refusal to worship images : and that refusal, which equally characterised the reformers of the sixteenth century, like the similar refusal of the primitive Christians to adore the idols of the Gentiles, never failed to expose the innumerable martyrs under Popery, those second men of understanding mentioned by Daniel, to the horrors of a death peculiarly dreadful ¹.

(10.) *The second beast caused all persons, of whatsoever degree, to receive, in their right hand or on their foreheads, that mark or stigma, which is the impress of the name of the first beast, and which therefore exhibits the number of his name : and he suffered none to buy or to sell, except those who were branded or stigmatized by the blasphemous name in question.*

We have already seen it established, that the name of the first beast, alluded to by the prophet as the name of blasphemy, is no other than the name APOSTATÈS. This name, during the period of the latter 1260 years, he specially bears in his

¹ Dan. xi. 35. See Bp. Newton's Dissert.^o on the Proph. diss. xxiv. on Rev. xi. and Jones's account of the Vallenses and Albigenes in his Hist. of the Christian Church, vol. ii. One of the crimes, for which these alleged heretics were condemned by the Roman Church, is almost invariably a refusal to worship dead saints and their images.

quality of the grand secular patron and upholder of the predicted demonolatrous Apostasy. Hence, when all persons are required, under certain pains and penalties, to receive, as a conspicuous mark, the name of the beast or the name of an Apostate ; we are effectively taught, with the utmost possible degree of clearness and precision, that all persons within the sphere of his influence would be compelled by the ecclesiastical beast, under certain pains and penalties, to apostatise to that gross gentilising demonolatry which should so eminently characterise the latter 1260 years.

Such is the prophecy : and most accurate has been its completion. The man of sin, as the head of the great Apostasy, has compelled all, save a small remnant of the faithful, to become apostates, in the most open and conspicuous manner, from the pure religion of the Gospel. On each of their foreheads, that so they might be seen and known of all men, is the brand of blasphemy. For the name APOSTATES is alike impressed, both upon the secular beast or the collective temporal Roman Empire, upon the ecclesiastical beast or the man of sin at the head of his gentilising clergy, and upon every individual Romanist who is in communion with the Latin false prophet.

The special penalty, under which the ecclesiastical beast should compel every person to receive the name of blasphemy or apostasy, is said to be an interdict from buying and selling.

In this particular, the christian false prophet has

industriously revived an edict of the pagan Roman beast, under the Emperor Dioclesian, against the primitive Christians: for, agreeably to the testimony of the early Church, no believer was allowed either to buy or to sell, until he had first offered incense to detestable idols¹

The papal transcript of that edict is truly remarkable; both as shewing how perfectly the modern Gentiles of the outer court have caught the very spirit of the ancient Gentiles their predecessors, and as exhibiting the wonderful accuracy with which the prediction now before us has been accomplished.

If any, as Bp. Newton well remarks upon the present clause of the prophecy, dissent from the stated and authorised forms of the Latin Church, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics: in consequence of which, they are no longer suffered to buy or to sell; they are interdicted from traffic and commerce and from all the benefits of civil society. Thus Roger Howden relates of William the Conqueror, that he was so dutiful to the Pope that he would not permit any one in his power to buy or sell any thing, whom he found disobedient to the Apostolic See. Thus the canon of the Council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made against the Vallenses and the Albigenses, enjoins, upon pain of anathema, that

¹ Med. Comment. Apoc. par. ii. oper. p. 509.

no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or land or to exercise traffic with them. Thus the Synod of Tours in France, under the same Pope, orders, under the like intermination, that no man should presume to receive or assist them, no not so much as to hold any communion with them in buying or selling: that, being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their ways. And thus Pope Martin the fifth, in his bull set out after the Council of Constance, commands, in like manner, that they permit not the heretics, to have houses in their districts, or to enter into contracts, or to carry on commerce, or to enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians¹.

It may not be unimportant to observe, that what may be called *the poetical machinery* of the pre-

¹ Bp.* Newton's Dissert. on the Proph. dissert. xxv. vol. iii. p. 228, 229. The machinery of papal excommunication seems to have been very much borrowed from that of the ancient druidical excommunication as enforced among the Celtic tribes.

Si quis, aut privatus aut publicus, eorum (scil. Druidarum) decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur. Iis omnes decedunt; aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt; ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. Cæsar. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. § 13.

It may justly indeed be said, as Mr. Mede and Dr. Middleton have fully shewn, that Popery is throughout a complete plagiarism from ancient Paganism.

sent clause tends directly to establish the propriety of that interpretation of the name and of the number of the beast, which the tenor and context of the prophecy itself has led me to adopt.

Among the more zealous Pagans, it was customary to impress upon some part of their bodies, after the manner of a brand or stigma, the name of the god to whose worship they had peculiarly addicted themselves : and, occasionally, for the sake of the greater mysteriousness, they were wont, not only to impress the ordinary title of the divinity in alphabetic characters, but likewise the arithmetical sum total of the letters which constituted his more recondite appellation ¹.

¹ Quandoque nomen idoli, cui se vovissent idololatræ, vice stigmatis, imprimebatur. Nam *mos erat*, inquit Grotius, *inscribendi ipsa deorum nomina* ; Græcè, ut *Jupiter, Mars, Bacchus* ; aut Syriacè, *Bel, Beltis, Azizus, Marnas*. Quo vero miseræ gentes zelum erga deos et eorum idola clarius indicarent, curârunt, ut literæ, idoli nomen exprimentes, altiusculè corporibus suis insculperentur : hoc enim stigmate notati, τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ ὀνόματος idoli accipere dicebantur. His aliquid fidei conciliat, quod refert Abulensis, e traditione Judæorum ; quod idololatræ accipiebant laminam auream, inscriptam idoli nomine, et inflamatam apponebant carni suæ, et manebat ibi profundè impressum idoli nomen. Idololatræ nonnunquam idolo alicui, nominis sui numero corporibus eorum inscripto, se mancipârunt. Gentes numinibus suis, non tantum nomina communia, sed et nomina mystica, non nisi mystis cognita, tribuerunt. Priora literis vulgaribus exprimere soliti sunt, posteriora numeris, summam literarum e quibus nomina vera et vulgaria constabant continentibus. Nomen Solis mysticum ad numerum octo et sexcentorum perveniebat, uti nos docet Martianus Capella. Id

To this practice the clause evidently alludes: and the very existence of the practice itself demonstrates, that I have adopted the true principle of determining the name and of calculating the number of the secular wild-beast. The name APOSTATÈS is a mystical or recondite appellation, not the ordinary title or gentile proper name of the beast to which it appertains: and the mode, in which the number has been computed, is the precise mode employed by the Pagans, when they wished to conceal the name of a favourite god under the enigma of an arithmetical cypher.

II. In order that the close connection of the two Empires, secular and ecclesiastical, may the more evidently appear, St. John, when he returns to the larger sealed book, gives us a compound united symbol of them both, as they stand leagued together throughout the whole period of the latter three-times and a half.

There came unto me one of the seven angels who had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying: Come hither; and I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great harlot, who sitteth upon the many waters; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with the wine of her whoredom the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunken. And he carried

autem hoc modo notabatur, XII. Spencer. de Leg. Heb. Rit. lib. ii. c. 14. sect. 3. vol. i. p. 333, 334.

As the numerical stigma of the Sun was $\chi\eta$, so, in the Apocalypse, the numerical stigma of the beast is $\chi\xi\tau$.

me away in the spirit into the wilderness. And I saw a woman seated upon a scarlet-coloured wild-beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication. And upon her forehead was a name written: MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus: and, having seen her, I wondered a great wonder. The woman is that great city, which has the sovereignty over the kings of the earth ¹.

Here we again behold the secular Roman wild-beast seven-headed and ten-horned, closely leagued with a mystic harlot as he was before connected with a two-horned wild-beast. The symbol is varied: but the purport is still the same. Both the harlot and the two-horned beast equally typify the spiritual Empire of the Papacy: for a harlot is only another hieroglyphic of an apostate and persecuting Church. In the case of the former symbol, the Latin Church with the sovereign Pontiff at its head was described, as the coadjutor and instigator of the secular beast: in the case of the present symbol, the same Church under the same lawless

¹ Rev. xvii. 1—6, 18.

head is represented in the plenitude of its usurped power, riding triumphantly upon the neck of kings, and claiming to exalt its authority far above that of its secular colleague.

A most important verbal interpretation, however, is added to the symbol of the harlot, which had been omitted in describing the symbol of the two-horned beast. She is unequivocally declared to be that great city, which, from the time of St. John downward, had the sovereignty over the kings of the earth : and, since she rides the acknowledged symbol of the secular Roman Empire, she can only be the great city which is the metropolis of that Empire.

This notation is so plain and unambiguous, that all commentators, whether ancient or modern, whether popish or protestant, are unanimous in pronouncing, that the apocalyptic harlot can only be Rome viewed as presiding over the Roman Empire : for, in truth, St. John only does not tell us, in so many express words, that she is the symbol of Rome. There is the same universal agreement, likewise, on the subject of the title, with which she is stigmatised : for, in the judgment both of Papists and of Protestants, the woman, who is fully allowed to symbolise Rome, is denominated *a harlot*, in the usual vein of scriptural metaphor, on account of her idolatrous apostasy from the exclusive worship of the one true God¹: Hence, in the applica-

¹ Allix on the Anc. Church of Piedm. chap. xx. p. 209. Bp. Newton's Dissert. on the Proph. vol. iii. p. 162. Bellar-

tion of this important symbol, there is a rare and striking unanimity among persons even of the most opposite sentiments in other respects. .

Yet, while Papists and Protestants thus far agree most fully, at this very point they begin no less widely to differ. That Rome in *some* sense is intended, they each allow to be indisputable: but then papal expositors maintain, that the harlot represents idolatrously-pagan Rome secularly presiding over the ancient Roman Empire; while, on the contrary, protestant expositors contend, as the Vallenses and the Albigenses did before them, that she represents idolatrously-christian Rome ecclesiastically presiding over the modern or divided Roman Empire. Such being the case, from the mutual agreement and disagreement of the contending parties, we may deduce the following sufficiently obvious syllogism.

The apocalyptic harlot is confessedly and indisputably Rome. But, if the apocalyptic harlot be Rome, she must inevitably be, either Rome Pagan, or Rome Papal. Therefore, if it can be demon-

min. de Rom. Pontif. lib. iii. c. 13. Walmesley's or Pastorini's Gen. Hist. of the Church, p. 112—117. Rutter's Key, p. 358. Whiston's Essay on the Rev. part ii. p. 111, 112. Mr. Whiston has very usefully collected together, and given at large, the several explicit attestations of the following writers of the Latin Church: Baronius, Bellarmine, Ribera, Malvenda, Lessius, Cornelius a Lapide, Alcasar, and Viega. All these are unanimous in asserting, that the apocalyptic Babylon can only be Rome.

strated that she is not the one of these, she must needs be the other.

My present purpose is to demonstrate, that she cannot be Rome Pagan: and, as I wish the discussion to be conducted with all possible fairness, I shall first exhibit and consider the system of the Papists as drawn out by one of their own writers, next shew that the whole character of the harlot forbids her identification with Rome Pagan, and lastly point out that every circumstance in her character minutely corresponds with Rome Papal.

1. Bp. Walmesley, who, under the fictitious name of *Signor Pastorini*, published a running commentary on the Apocalypse in the form and under the title of *A General History of the Church*, has set forth, in the following manner, the theory which is of such vital importance to his own communion.

The woman is Rome Pagan. Her fornication is her idolatry. The bloody persecutions, with which she is charged, are the persecutions of the primitive Christians by the Pagan Emperors. The wild-beast, which she rides, is the Roman Empire. The ten horns of the wild-beast are the ten kingdoms, into which the Empire was divided by the Goths. Their giving their strength and power to the beast means the serving of the Gothic warriors in the Roman armies as auxiliaries during the decline of the Empire. Their subjugation by the Lamb is their conversion to Christianity. And their hatred of the harlot, expressed by their making her desolate and naked, by eating her flesh, and by burning

her with fire, denotes the plundering and sacking of Rome first by the Vandals and afterward by Totila.

Such, according to Bp. Walmesley, was the fate of Rome Pagan as foretold by the apocalyptic prophet : but here, he remarks, we must carefully note an important discrepance between the type and the antitype, which cannot be better stated than in the learned Prelate's own words.

*Thus fell ancient Rome like Babylon, but with this difference : that Babylon was NEVER to rise again ; whereas Rome, when the anger of God was satisfied, was designed to emerge from her ashes. And, though not allowed, to recover her former temporal dominion and splendour and riches, nor to rise in her outward appearance scarce above the condition of a village when compared with her former extent and multitude of people : yet, in her depressed state, she is privileged with a higher dignity of another kind, of being not only a christian city, but appointed the head and centre of spiritual dominion*¹.

Nothing will be more satisfactory than the Bishop's exposition, provided only we avert our eyes from the page of History and consent to overlook the testimony which is borne by the Bible.

(1.) So far as History is concerned, the making of the harlot desolate, the eating of her flesh, and the burning of her with fire, on the part of the ten

¹ Gen. Hist. p. 111—135.

horns, plainly denote, if we may credit Bp. Walmesley, the plundering and sacking of Rome PAGAN, first by the Vandals and afterward by Totila.

With respect to this interpretation, I should be glad to learn, *when* Rome PAGAN, since the first propagation of Christianity, ever experienced such treatment at the hands of *any one* of the ten Gothic nations.

Christianity became the dominant religion of the Empire in the time of Constantine : and, though imperial Rome still fondly adhered to the classical idolatry of former times ; yet, in the reign of the great Theodosius, at the close of the fourth century, the Senate publicly decreed the abolition of Paganism. Henceforth, then, Rome *ceased* to be PAGAN. Consequently, if Rome PAGAN, the apocalyptic harlot of popish commentators, were ever plundered and sacked by all or by any one of the ten horns ; this grand event must plainly have occurred *before* the age of Theodosius : for, *after* that age, Rome *ceased* to be PAGAN.

Now, most unfortunately for the papal scheme of exposition, Radigast, and Alaric, and Attila, and Genseric, and Totila, all flourished, not while Rome was PAGAN, but after she had become CHRISTIAN. In short, by a most whimsical mistake, Bp. Walmesley demonstrates *the burning of the Babylonian harlot or ROME PAGAN through the agency of the ten horns*, by shewing clearly from history, that ROME CHRISTIAN *was pillaged and sacked by Genseric and Totila*.

The result, therefore, of the whole, is this. The apocalyptic harlot is to be burned with fire by the ten horns, which sprang up within the divided Roman Empire. But no such calamity ever befell Rome PAGAN. Therefore Rome PAGAN cannot be the apocalyptic harlot.

(2.) Nor is the Bible less destructive of the popish scheme of interpretation, than profane History.

To the enraptured eyes, indeed, of Bp. Walmesley, the beatific vision of Papal Rome, springing up in renovated and chastened beauty from the ashes of that accursed harlot Pagan Rome, presents itself in full and beamy magnificence: but Scripture is wholly silent upon what the Bishop beholds so clearly. The fall of the mystic Babylon is celebrated in terms, which seem to be studiously chosen in order that *no* hope or expectation might be entertained of her resurrection to empire. *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen; and is become the habitation of demons, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird*¹. Such, like that of the literal Babylon, was to be the fate of the mystical Babylon after its overthrow specially predicted by St. John.

How far this prophecy has been accomplished, even if history permitted us to allow that *Pagan* Rome was ever burned at all by the Gothic warriors, can best be determined by the Papists themselves: for *they* best know, who have been the in-

¹ Rev. xviii. 2.

habitants of Rome since the days of Genseric and Totila. Bp. Walmesley, indeed, like the prudent hero of Ithaca, looking carefully round him on all sides ¹, limits the gambols of the satyrs and the incubation of the unclean birds to some forty days, which followed the burning, not of Rome *Pagan*, but of Rome *Christian*, by Totila ². St. John, however, says not a syllable about any such limitation. The forty days are the exclusive property of Bp. Walmesley. In the bond, we read them not. The Apostle's imagery is plainly borrowed from that of the ancient prophets, when they foretell the desolate condition of the literal Babylon: and, as the desolation of *the type* has continued down even to the present time, an expositor may well be deemed to take no small liberty with his author who limits the desolation of the supposed *antitype* to some forty days.

In fact, so far is the Apostle from giving the least countenance to this *necessary* gloss of the Latin Bishop, that he forbids us to entertain the smallest hope of *any* restoration on the part of that Babylon, respecting which *he* is speaking. *A mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying: Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and SHALL BE FOUND NO MORE AT ALL* ³. Now *ancient Rome* (we will not say *Pagan Rome*, be-

¹ Πάντοσε πανταίων.

² Gen. Hist. p. 127.

³ Rev. xviii. 21.

cause *Pagan* Rome was *never* burned by the Goths) *has* been found again, after its sacking by Genseric and Totila; Bishop Walmesley himself being judge, who exults in the fact. Therefore *ancient* Rome, as contradistinguished from *Papal* Rome, cannot be the Babylon of the Apocalypse.

2. The whole character, indeed, of the harlot forbids us to identify her with Rome *Pagan*.

The harlot is described, not only as being a teacher of idolatry in general, but specially as tempting the ten Gothic kingdoms to participate in her spiritual fornication¹. But Rome Pagan, by readily naturalising the gods of the conquered nations, shewed herself to be a *learner* rather than a *teacher* of idolatry: and, in point of historical fact, she most assuredly never induced the ten Gothic kingdoms to adopt her own peculiar superstition, because Rome had *ceased* to be Pagan *before* those ten kingdoms were erected upon the platform of the Western Empire. Therefore the harlot cannot be Rome Pagan.

The harlot is described, as flourishing synchronically with those ten horns or kingdoms, which Bishop Walmesley himself allows to be the ten Gothic kingdoms founded in the fifth and sixth centuries: for they are said to give their power to the beast which she rides and afterward to hate and pillage her; which they *could not* do, unless they *were* her contemporaries². But Rome Pagan did

¹ Rev. xviii. 2, 4, 5.

² Rev. xvii. 12, 13, 16, 17.

not flourish synchronically with the ten Gothic kingdoms : because Rome had *ceased* to be Pagan, before even the first of those kingdoms was founded. Therefore, again, the harlot cannot be Rome Pagan.

The harlot excites the exceeding great wonder of St. John, when he beholds her drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus¹. But, if the harlot had been the familiar symbol of Rome Pagan, there was nothing in *this* circumstance which could have occasioned any great astonishment to an individual who had already beheld the persecutions set on foot by that heathen sovereignty. Therefore, lastly, the harlot cannot be Rome Pagan.

We now return, by way of winding up this part of the argument, to the original syllogism, with which we first set out ; varying it only, from the hypothetical, to the positive, form.

The apocalyptic harlot, by the consent both of Papists and of Protestants, is Rome. But, if she be Rome, she must be, either Rome Pagan or Rome Papal. It has been demonstrated, however, that she *cannot* be the former. Therefore she *must* be the latter.

3. With this conclusion, every circumstance in her character will be found minutely to correspond.

(1.) *The harlot is said to sit upon the many waters or to float upon the surface of the mighty abyss : where (so far as the poetical machinery*

¹ Rev. xvii. 6.

of the image is concerned) St. John beholds her from the wilderness of Judæa, whither he had been conveyed in the spirit.

These many waters, or this aquatic congeries of the great deep, out of which, we are told, the slain beast will reascend under his eighth king, are explained by the angel to mean peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues ¹. Hence, the sitting of the harlot upon the many waters is virtually equivalent to her sitting upon the beast. For the beast symbolises the Roman Empire: and the many waters, though they comprehend all nations in communion with the harlot, specially typify the various Gothic tribes among which the Western Empire has been partitioned ².

Such being the case, we have here an accurate picture of Rome Papal spiritually presiding over the several nations which jointly constitute the ecclesiastical subjects of the Papal Empire.

(2.) *The harlot is the symbol of a Power, with*

¹ Rev. xvii. 15.

² The arrangement of the compound symbol of the woman and the beast furnishes an additional proof, that my principle of explaining the seventh head of the beast *homogeneously* with his six first heads is just and well founded. If the woman, who rides the beast, be the Papacy; it is incongruous, that the seventh head of the beast or the eighth king who is one of the seven should, according to the general scheme of our older protestant expositors, be the Papacy *also*. Such an interpretation entirely violates the zoölogical propriety of the hieroglyphic: for it makes the rider identical with a head of the animal which she herself rides.

whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with whose infatuating cup all the inhabitants of the earth have been intoxicated.

The kings of the earth are the representatives of the ten Gothic kings, by whom the Roman earth was partitioned: the inhabitants of the earth are the subject multitudes of that Roman platform upon which the ten kingdoms were erected: and spiritual fornication, attended with drunkenness, is a sottish idolatrous apostasy from sound religion. Hence, the purport of the symbolical prophecy will be this. The ten Gothic kingdoms founded upon the territory of the Roman Empire, and all the multitudes comprehended within their limits from the prince to the peasant, will be seduced into an idolatrous apostasy from the genuine Gospel through the arts and blandishments of Papal Rome.

Upon this prediction it is superfluous to offer any remark: faithful history affords the best comment.

(3.) *The harlot, to the utter amazement of St. John, appears even brutally intoxicated with the blood of the saints and witnesses of Jesus.*

As St. John, from the books of the ancient prophets, well knew, that a harlot was the type of an apostate Church¹; as he further knew, that the harlot before him must be the type of an apostate Christian Church, because Israel was now no longer the Church of the Lord; and as he lastly knew,

¹ See Ezek. xvi. and xxiii.

from the circumstances of the woman sitting upon the seven hills of Rome and being the great city which ruled over the kings of the earth, that she must be the Christian Church of Rome, then flourishing in evangelical simplicity, but hereafter about to lapse into apostasy and active persecution of Christ's people : we may readily perceive the reason, why, at such a sight, he should have wondered with great admiration. Had the woman been the recognised symbol of Pagan Rome, the Apostle might have *grieved* at her cruelty, but he could not have *wondered* : for *pagan* persecution was then too familiar to excite any *amazement*. But, when he saw a Church of Christ thus fallen from her high spiritual estate, thus apostate, thus corrupt, thus persecuting the faithful with even more bitterness than the very heathen themselves : well might he wonder with exceeding great admiration. To a primitive believer, the thing would appear, as it were, impossible : and St. John, who doubtless (like the other prophets) fully understood the general meaning of his own symbolical language, was probably at a loss to conceive, how in a professed Church of his meek and lowly and beneficent Master his prediction could ever be accomplished.

(4.) *Upon the forehead of the harlot was written : Mystery ; Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.*

Though it is readily allowed by all, whether Papists or Protestants, that *Babylon* is not the real, but only the parabolical, name of the harlot : yet

the application of the character to its proper anti-type is declared to be a mystery ; that is to say (for the phraseology is borrowed from the ancient Mysteries of the Gentiles), it is a secret revealed only to a comparatively small number and wholly undiscerned by the votaries of the harlot herself. The hierophantic angel, however, sufficiently reveals the mystery to those, who possess what Daniel calls *understanding*¹ : and, accordingly, it was always known to the two witnessing Churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenses, long before it was loudly and unreservedly declared by the Protestants of the Reformation².

The mystery, then, in question, is this : that *Babylon, the great is the professedly-catholic Church of Rome.*

This great and powerful Church of the Western Patriarchate, having been enabled by the course of events to exalt herself above the coëqual Churches of the other Patriarchates, claims, as she herself expresses it, to be *the mother and mistress of all other Churches* : and the subordinate national Churches, which are actually in communion with her and which acknowledge her supremacy, are mainly seated upon the apocalyptic earth or upon the territory of the Roman Empire. Hence the predicted character of the mystic Babylon is, that she should be *the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth.*

¹ Dan. xi. 35.

² Allix on the Anc. Church of Piedm. p. 209.

(5.) *The ten kings, for a season, unanimously give their power and strength to the beast and therefore to the harlot who rides him: but, at length, they hate her, and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.*

It was in the year 604, at the commencement of the latter three times and a half, that the ten Gothic kings first unanimously submitted to the Roman Church and gave all their strength and power to uphold and enforce the apostatic principles which she maintained. This devotion continued with little abatement during the greatest part of that period: but, at length, the temper of the kings began to experience a change; and, from the time of the Reformation down to the present hour, they have, more or less, been employed in stripping her of her wealth and in secularising her possessions. Her final destiny is to be burned with fire or to be utterly destroyed: and this event is chronologically fixed to the season of the seventh vial, which begins to flow at the close of the latter 1260 years.

Thus it appears, that this grand compound hieroglyphic of the harlot and the beast exhibits at one view the two coëxisting Roman Empires, ecclesiastical and secular, which the prophet had before described separately under the symbols of two friendly contemporary beasts, leagued together for the purpose of erecting both a civil and a spiritual tyranny over the minds as well as over the bodies of men.

CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE FIFTH SECTION OF THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK, OR THE VISION OF THE LAMB WITH THE HUNDRED AND FORTY FOUR THOUSAND SAINTS.

THE fifth section of the little open book, which, from its leading subject, may be called *the vision of the Lamb with the hundred and forty four thousand saints*, divides itself into three portions : the appearance of the Lamb, with his redeemed saints, on mount Zion ; the flight of the three successive angels ; and the harvest and vintage of God's wrath.

I. With respect to the first of these portions, though, in point of composition, it occupies only the beginning of the vision ; yet, in point of chronology, it extends through the whole of it : that is to say, though the mere description of the 144,000 saints is soon dispatched, their holy employment of prayer and praise on the figurative mount Zion continues through the entire length of the vision ; so that they are still engaged in singing their new song before the throne, both while the three angels take their flight, and while the harvest and vintage of God's wrath are gathered in.

I looked : and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Zion ; and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder : and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps. And they sang as it were a new song, before the throne and before the four living creatures and before the elders ; and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth. These are they, which were not defiled with women ; for they are virgins : these are they, which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth : these were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile : for they are without fault before the throne of God¹.

Hitherto we have beheld the affairs of the faithful only upon the gloomy side ; for we have seen nothing, save the outward persecutions which they experienced from the dragon and the two wild-beasts during the permitted term of 1260 years : we are now invited to contemplate that paradox, which real Christianity can alone explain.

Though the tyrannical little horn of the Western Empire, or the second wild-beast of the Apocalypse, makes war upon the saints, and prevails against

¹ Rev. xiv. 1—5.

them, and wears them out through the long period of three prophetic times and a half; though the apostate secular Empire, acting as the tool of the little horn or the ecclesiastical beast, performs the same bloody deeds during the same term; and though the two faithful witnesses prophesy in sack-cloth, still throughout the self-same allotted period: yet, notwithstanding these outward tribulations, the great body of the Lamb's sincere followers are represented in the present vision, through the very same term of 1260 years, as being in a state of exultation and triumph, as rejoicing in that joy which no man taketh from them, as exceeding joyful even in tribulation.

1. That the vision of the Lamb with the 144,000 saints relates to the same period as the other four preceding sections of the little book, might well seem to be insinuated by the general arrangement of the little book itself: but the circumstance, if I mistake not, is absolutely demonstrated by the occurrence of one of those artificial links, which St. John so frequently employs to bind together synchronical portions of the Apocalypse.

In the vision of the two witnesses, by a poetical machinery borrowed from the economy of the Hebrew Republic, certain mystical Israelites are separated by mensuration to the service of the living God, and are placed as his faithful worshippers *at the altar* and *within the temple*: while the entire holy city and the outer court are given up to a new race of demonolatrous Gentiles, who trample them

under foot during the allotted period of the latter 1260 years ¹.

Now, correspondently to this arrangement, by a continued use of the same poetical machinery, these identical Israelites are, in the vision of the Lamb with the 144,000 saints, once more presented to our notice, as similarly occupying their proper station *in the self-same temple of God*: for, standing, as before in the former vision, *on mount Zion* or *in the temple* (one of the eminences of the literal Zion being the scite of the literal temple); and singing a new song, *before the throne or the mercy-seat*, and therefore of course *within the temple*; they resolutely maintain their integrity, notwithstanding their close neighbourhood to the demonolatrous Gentiles of the outer court and the holy city ².

The vision, then, of the two witnesses or the first section of the little book, and the vision of the Lamb with the 144,000 saints or the fifth section of the little book, open alike with the phantasm of the mystical Israelites worshipping God *at his altar* and *in his temple on mount Zion*. These two sections, therefore, opening alike with the circumstance of the *same* persons being engaged in the *same* place with the *same* occupation, open synchronically. But the vision of the two witnesses opens at the commencement of the latter 1260 years, agreeably to its own positive declaration. Therefore the

¹ Rev. xi. 1, 2.

² Rev. xiv. 1—5.

vision of the Lamb with the 144,000 saints must also open at the commencement of the same period.

2. Having thus, on the principle of synchronisation, established the proper chronological arrangement of the present or fifth section of the little book, I may proceed to examine the several articles of which its first portion consists.

(1.) *The 144,000 saints are said to have the name of the Father written on their foreheads.*

This divine name of JEHOVAH is figuratively described, as being the impression of a seal: for the measured worshippers within the temple, or the 144,000 mystic Israelites on mount Zion, are the spiritual descendants and representatives of those 144,000 saints, who are separated out of all the twelve tribes by the act of sigillation during the period of the sixth apocalyptic seal or in the time of the Emperor Constantine¹. But the name JEHOVAH, thus impressed by a seal and as a mark on the foreheads of the 144,000 chosen Israelites, is designedly antithetical or (in the language of Mr. Mede) *counter-elemental* to the name APOSTATÈS; which, being the characteristic appellation of the secular Roman beast and also of that man of sin whose number is the same as the number of the secular Roman beast, is similarly described, as being impressed, in the quality of a mark, upon the right-hands or upon the foreheads of the apostate demolatrous Gentiles². Hence, on the sound principle

¹ Compare Rev. vii. 3, 4, with xiv. 1.

² Rev. xiii. 16—18.

of homogeneity, the two circumstances, being *counter-elemental*, must be analogically interpreted.

Now the impression of the name APOSTATÈS means the devotedness of the Gentiles to the paganising doctrines of the great Apostasy; such as the adoration of the graven image set up by the ecclesiastical beast, and the worship of demons or canonised dead men¹.

Consequently, the impression of the name JEHOVAH must mean the devotedness of the 144,000 saints to the unadulterated doctrine of the Bible; such as the adjudged impiety of having any other god than the true God, and the declared illegality of bowing down (under any pretence or according to any vain modification) before a graven image or the likeness of any being that exists throughout the universal world².

The peculiar badge, then, of the 144,000 saints, during the whole period of the 1260 years, agreeably to their mark or impress of the name JEHOVAH, is the *exclusive* worship of the triune Deity: while the peculiar badge of the Gentiles in communion with the ecclesiastical beast, during the same period of 1260 years, agreeably to their mark or impress of the name APOSTATÈS, is the superstitious worship of images and demon-gods *in conjunction with* the alone true God; notwithstanding he has declared himself to be a jealous God, and notwith-

¹ Rev. xiii. 15²—18. ix. 20. 1 Tim. iv. 1.

² Exod. xx. 3—5.

standing he has expressly prohibited all such vain paganising follies.

(2.) *The 144,000 saints sing as it were a new song, which no man could learn save themselves.*

We may here observe a remarkable, though a perfectly accurate, expression. It is not said, that the 144,000 saints sing a *really* new song; for that would have been, in fact, to charge them with heretically innovating in religion: but it is said, that they sing *as it were* a new song, or a song new in appearance though not new in reality.

These words describe with great precision the doctrines, taught and maintained by the faithful, during the long and dreary period of the latter 1260 years. They were no innovators in theology: for what they upheld were the apostolical doctrines of the primitive Church, as set forth plainly and explicitly in the Bible, to which and to which alone (so far as authority is concerned) they always appealed. Hence their song was the very reverse of being a new song¹. Yet so systematically had the word of God been locked up from the Laity, and so grossly and generally had the great truths of the Gospel been perverted and corrupted by the authority of an interested priesthood, that, when sincere Christianity was propounded in all its native lustre,

¹ For a full confirmation of this remark, built on the sure basis of historical testimony, see my *Difficulties of Romanism*. The real and grand innovatrix upon primitive antiquity, is the ever varying and ever accumulative Church of the great Western Patriarchate.

and when the abominable nature of saint-worship and image-worship and relic-worship was demonstrated from the express decisions of Scripture, the Gospel itself appeared a novelty to those who would not endure sound doctrine, and the very Bible was denounced as a dangerous book the fruitful matrix of every pullulant heresy.

Hence the 144,000 saints are most accurately said to sing *as it were* a new song; for the language, incessantly held by them of the Apostasy, from age to age through the whole term of the latter 1260 years, has been this: that those, who protested against the unscriptural doctrines and practices of the Latin Church, were teachers of mere upstart novelties; that the tenets of the Reformation had no existence before Luther; that Popery is the old faith; and that Protestantism is a new faith, unheard of before the days of modern speculative innovators.

The song of the 144,000 saints being thus *apparently* a new song, no man could learn it save themselves: for, the authority of the Bible being superseded by the authority of the pretended Catholic Church, and the inveterate corruptions which sprang up during the middle ages being pertinaciously taught as the aboriginal doctrines of the Gospel notwithstanding the Gospel itself altogether disowns them; the song of the faithful was deemed by all others an heretical novelty, and was rejected by them on that precise allegation.

(3.) *The 144,000 saints are enabled to sing*

their apparently new song, because they are redeemed from the earth, or (according to a subsequent explanatory variation) because they are redeemed from among men: whence they are said to be the first-fruits, unto God and the Lamb, of that future great harvest the universally converted Jews and Gentiles.

Throughout the whole Apocalypse, the earth is the symbol of the Roman Empire: from the apostasy of this Empire, therefore, it is, that the 144,000 saints are redeemed; and the men, from among whom they are redeemed, are the men of that Empire, or those figurative Gentiles who tread under foot the holy city during the permitted term of the 1260 years. Holding the faith as it is in Christ Jesus, and building upon the written word alone, they are the earnest and first-fruits of that exceeding great company of believers, who, when a way shall have been prepared by the final overthrow of the antichristian faction, shall be added to the glorious Church of the Millennium.

(4.) *The 144,000 saints are they, who have not been defiled with women: for they are virgins.*

The virginity of the 144,000 saints is the counter-element to the unchastity of the great harlot. Hence, as, in scriptural phraseology, the unchastity of the latter denotes idolatrous apostasy; so the virginity of the former will, antithetically, denote their freedom from this adulterous abomination. The present clause, therefore, teaches us, that the 144,000 saints should be eminently distinguished

from those men of the Roman earth, out of whom they have been redeemed, by their stedfast abhorrence of all idolatry, however modified or disguised or palliated. Accordingly, thus believing and thus acting, they have spiritually remained virgins, though environed with ecclesiastical fornication and adultery.

(5.) *The 144,000 saints follow the Lamb, whithersoever he goeth.*

These faithful witnesses to the truth resolutely adhere to the unadulterated religion of Christ, in troublesome times, as well as in prosperous times. Rather than relinquish their profession of the Gospel, they are content to follow their Saviour into sequestered valleys and wild deserts : nor do they refuse to trace his footsteps, even though they may lead to the prison or to the galleys or to the rack or to the stake.

(6.) *In the mouth of the 144,000 saints, is found no guile.*

These faithful servants of God handle not his word deceitfully, like mercenary venders of indulgences, or like unscriptural preachers of human merit and purgatory and supererogation and idolatry : but, after the manner of the primitive Church, from which they descend and which they represent, they honestly and simply declare the only true way of everlasting life.

(7.) *The 144,000 saints are without fault before the throne of God.*

From personal sin, these children of the Lord

claim not arrogantly to be free : on the contrary, they acknowledge and lament their numerous remaining imperfections. But still, by virtue of the everlasting covenant and through a mysterious union with their divine head, they are counted without fault before the throne of God, having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. For God imputes not their trespasses unto them : but, through the imputed righteousness of Christ, he views and esteems them as if they had never sinned.

II. The second of the three portions, into which the concluding vision of the little book divides itself, exhibits the flight of three successive angels, each making his own appropriate proclamation.

And I saw another angel flying in the meridian, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people ; saying, with a loud voice : Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come ; and worship him, that made heaven and earth and the sea and the fountains of waters.

And there followed another angel, saying : Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city ; because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

And a third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice : If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine

of God which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation : and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name. Here is the patience of the saints : here are they, that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus. And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me : Write ; Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord, from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them¹.

The proclamations of these three angels' or dramatic messengers all relate to events so far synchronical, that they equally occur at the close of the latter 1260 years and either during the blast of the third woe-trumpet or immediately after the passing away of the third woe.

At the sounding of the third woe-trumpet, commences the season of God's judgment, which extends throughout the whole of that period². But the angel, who bears the everlasting Gospel, proclaims that the season of God's judgment has come³. Therefore the preaching of the everlasting Gospel to every nation, which he announces as about im-

¹ Rev. xiv. 6—13.

² Rev. xi. 15, 18.

³ Rev. xiv. 6, 7.

mediately to occur, must immediately succeed the season of God's judgment or the term of the third woe.

Babylon the great falls during the effusion of the seventh vial, which is the concluding portion of the seventh trumpet or of the third woe ¹. But the second angel announces the fall of Babylon the great ². Therefore the annunciation of the second angel must synchronise with the effusion of the seventh vial.

The beast and his adherents are cast into the lake of fire after the battle of Armageddon, which the seventh vial comprehends within its own period ³. But the third angel announces this catastrophe as immediately impending ⁴. Therefore the annunciation of the third angel must synchronise with the effusion of the seventh vial and consequently with the last portion of the third woe-trumpet.

These are some of the many artificial links, by which St. John binds together the contemporaneous though severed parts of the Apocalypse : and, from them, when further illustrated by the general voice of prophecy, we can have small difficulty in settling the chronology of the three several matters announced in the respective proclamations of the three angels.

The general preaching of the Gospel to the whole

¹ Rev. xvi. 17. xviii. 2.

² Rev. xiv. 8.

³ Rev. xix. 20.

⁴ Rev. xiv. 9—11.

world, the fall of Babylon, and the punishment of those who have received the mark of the beast, all take place, not only either during or immediately after the term of the third woe, but likewise at the expiration of the latter three times and a half. For the tyranny of the harlot, who is identical with the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast and with the second or ecclesiastical beast of the Apocalypse, is expressly limited to that period; whence Babylon cannot fall before that period shall have expired—the battle of Armageddon, which breaks the power of the antichristian faction, is fought under the seventh vial, at the commencement of which the three times and a half expire: and the general preaching of the Gospel to every nation and kindred and tongue and people, according to the concurrent testimony of prophecy, attends and follows the overthrow of the antichristian faction¹.

Hence the proclamations of the three angels, as occurring in this part of the present vision, unite to shew, that, as the present vision commences with the latter 1260 years, so it likewise reaches down to their termination: for the proclamations themselves announce events, which are destined to occur when the latter 1260 years shall have expired. Here, in the little book, these events are only briefly announced; chiefly, I apprehend, for the purpose of establishing a series of synchronisms, without the

¹ Rev. xvii. 17. xiii. 5. xi. 3. Dan. vii. 25, 26. Rev. xvi. 12—21. xix. 11—21. xx. 1—6. xxi. Isaiah ii. 2—5. lxvi. 5—24. Zechar. xiii. xiv.

perpetual aid of which the Apocalypse would be an absolute labyrinth: but, afterward, when he returns to the larger book, the prophet, in their just places, treats of them more fully and copiously¹.

III. The third of the three portions, into which the concluding vision of the little book divides itself, sets forth the final destruction of God's irreclaimable enemies under the imagery of a successive harvest and vintage of indignation.

And I looked; and, behold, a white cloud: and upon the cloud sat one like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown and in his hand a sharp sickle.

And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud: Thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the harvest of the earth is ripe. And he, that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on the earth: and the earth was reaped.

And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire. And he cried with a loud voice to him that had the sharp sickle, saying: Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe. And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath

¹ Rev. xix. 1—9. xx. 1—6. xxi. xxii. 1—6. xviii. xix. 11—21.

*of God. And the wine-press was trodden without the city : and blood came out of the wine-press, even unto the horses' bridles, by the space of thousand and six hundred furlongs*¹.

As the second portion of the present vision brought us down to the times of the seventh vial ; so this third concluding portion must also relate to the times of the same vial : for the seventh vial is the vial of consummation ; and it is immediately followed by the peaceful and glorious period of the Millennium : but the miseries, which occur during the harvest and the vintage of God's wrath, cannot be consistently referred to the period of millennial blessedness : therefore they must take place during the effusion of the seventh vial, which is characteristically described as being the seventh of the seven last plagues, and which immediately precedes that period of spiritual peace and holiness.

1. This necessary chronological arrangement will lead us to a right understanding of the abstract signification of what, in the present vision, is denominated *the harvest*.

In itself, the term is ambiguous : for it is *capable* of denoting, either a harvest of God's mercy, or a harvest of God's vengeance. Hence we find, that some commentators have understood the harvest here mentioned in the first of these senses, supposing it to mean that general conversion of the Gentiles which is the theme of many ancient pro-

¹ Rev. xiv. 14—20.

phets: while others have understood it, in the second sense, believing it to describe, like the vintage, some signal judgment upon God's enemies.

After a long consideration of the subject, I rest in the opinion of Mede, Newton, Lowman, Doddridge, and Bengelius, that the apocalyptic harvest denotes a harvest, not of mercy, but of wrath: and I will even go beyond them in saying, that its collocation is such as to render it *incapable* of bearing another sense.

Mr. Mede, who has elaborately and minutely discussed the point, observes, that the idea of a harvest includes three things; the reaping of the corn, the gathering of it in, and the threshing of it: whence in Scripture it is made a type of two direct opposites; of destruction, when the reaping and the threshing are considered; of restitution and salvation, when the in-gathering is considered¹.

Now the context of the apocalyptic harvest most definitely teaches us, not only that a harvest of judgment *is* intended, but that nothing else *can* be intended.

Throughout the whole book of the Revelation, with the exception of a few passages which sufficiently explain themselves, the earth is used as a symbol of the territorial Roman Empire whether pagan or papal. It is the vine of *this* earth that is to be gathered, when her grapes are fully ripe²:

¹ Comment. Apoc. in Mess. Oper. p. 520, 521.

² Rev. xiv. 18, 19.

and it is the mature harvest of this *self-same* earth that is to be reaped, when the time for reaping is come ¹. Here we must note, that it is not, as in our Lord's parable which is usually adduced by those who adopt the contrary interpretation, said to be the harvest of *a field*, which afterward is formally explained to mean *the whole world* ²: but it is distinctly said to be the harvest of *the earth*; the harvest of that identical *earth*, of which the vintage is specially declared to be the vintage ³. If, then, *the earth* mean the Roman Empire, in the case of the vintage; it must, by analogy, no less mean the Roman Empire, in the case of the harvest: and, if the vintage of *the earth* or of the corrupt Roman Empire be a signal judgment, as all commentators allow; then the ripe harvest of *the same earth* or of the same corrupt Roman Empire must, unless the whole principle of homogeneity be violated, be a signal judgment also.

But the truth is, the chronological arrangement of the passage, which treats of the apocalyptic harvest and vintage, will not *admit* of any other interpretation of the harvest than that for which I contend. In evident allusion to the economy of the natural world, the figurative harvest is described as *preceding* the figurative vintage. Now, as the vine of the earth is clearly, in symbolical expression,

¹ Rev. xiv. 15, 16.

² Matt. xiii. 24, 38.

³ Rev. xiv. 15, 16, 18, 19.

the Church of the corrupt Latin Empire¹; so, by all commentators, the figurative vintage is acknowledged to denote the final overthrow and destruction of the Roman beast and his false ecclesiastical prophet in the battle of Armageddon, which takes place under the seventh vial². But the general conversion of the Gentiles and the gathering of all nations into the millennial Church *succeeds* the overthrow of the antichristian faction and the judgment of the vine or apostate Church of the Roman earth; which overthrow, and which judgment, by removing every obstacle, do, in fact, prepare the way for the universal reception of the pure Gospel. Hence it is plain, that an event, which *succeeds* the figurative vintage, cannot be intended by that allegorical harvest of the earth which is described as *preceding* it.

Thus I think it manifest, that the harvest, occurring as it does during the effusion of the seventh vial, that is to say, occurring, not in a season of grace and mercy, but during the infliction of an eminent plague, can only mean a harvest of judgment: for any other interpretation is no less incongruous with the declared object of the seventh vial, than it is irreconcilable with prophetic chronology³.

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 5. (3.)

² Rev. xix. 11—21.

³ It may not be improper to observe, that this inauspicious sense of a figurative harvest is that which is adopted by the ancient onirocritics. Achmetes remarks: 'Εὰν ἴδῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς χώραν θερίζομένην ἢ θερισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἐλογίζετο οἰκίαν εἶναι

2. The poetical imagery of the harvest and the vintage, as is the case almost universally with the apocalyptic imagery, is borrowed from the ancient Hebrew prophets : to *their* writings, therefore, we must have recourse for the due elucidation of it.

On adverting, then, to the ancient prophets, we find, that a great judgment about to befall Babylon, which city is the constant apocalyptic type of the Roman Church and Empire, is by Jeremiah expressly termed *a harvest* ¹. In the use, indeed, of the figure, there is this difference between Jeremiah and St. John ; that the one dwells upon the last process of the harvest or the threshing, while the other selects the imagery of the first process or the reaping : yet the context of both passages, sufficiently shews, that a harvest, not of mercy, but of judgment, is intended.

After a similar manner, the final destruction of God's enemies by the victorious Messiah, which St. John describes under the figure of a vintage, had been long previously described, under the very same figure, by the prophet Isaiah, in a sublime passage, which exhibits the Lord as coming with died garments from Bozrah, after he had indignantly trodden the bloody wine-press of the mystical Edom ².

αὐτὴν, ἀκούσεται ταχέως σφαγὴν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. *If a king shall behold a country reaping or reaped, and shall understand it to be his own country, he shall quickly hear of the slaughter of his people.*

¹ Jerem. li. 33.

² Isaiah lxiii. 1—6.

According to what I deem the just interpretation of the Rabbins, the Edom of this august vision is the Roman Empire. Hence, as they rightly suppose, it relates to the same great catastrophè, as that of the ten-horned beast with his little horn foretold by Daniel: and that catastrophè, a Christian may add, is no other than the overthrow of the ten-horned beast with the false prophet and the kings of the earth, predicted by St. John both in express words and under the figure of a dreadful vintage ¹.

But the vision, which the apocalyptic prophet had specially in his eye when he selected such imagery, was doubtless that of Joel. This sublime bard, foretelling the same ultimate destruction of the antichristian confederacy which both Isaiah and St. John dwell upon with such vivid energy, and pronouncing it like Daniel and every other ancient prophet to synchronise with the restoration of Judah, uses, in one continued prediction, precisely after the manner adopted in the Apocalypse, the two-fold figure of a successive harvest and vintage of judgment, to describe and to heighten the horrors of that dreadful period ². Now, as no prophecy is of its own insulated interpretation ³, and as Joel clearly predicts those identical events which St. John arranges under the seventh vial: there can be no reasonable doubt, that the harvest and the

¹ See Mede's Works, book v. chap. 8. p. 902, 903.

² Joel ii. 30—32. iii. 1—17.

³ Πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἸΔΙΑΣ ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, 2 Pet. i. 20.

vintage, of the one are the very same as the harvest and the vintage of the other. But, in the vision of Joel, they equally though successively relate to God's last great controversy with his irreclaimable enemies. Therefore, in the vision of St. John, they must equally though successively relate to the same grand catastrophè.

3. Since the whole of this prophecy relates to matters concealed as yet in the womb of futurity, it would be idle to say any thing definite or circumstantially precise on the subject. We can only pronounce, therefore, in general terms, that, since the figurative harvest is distinguished from the figurative vintage, and since the natural harvest precedes the natural vintage; the figurative harvest must be some eminent judgment or calamity which occurs at the beginning of the time of the end or at the commencement of the seventh vial, while the figurative vintage must be the concluding judgment or calamity which occurs at the close of that period.

(1.) According to the account which Daniel gives of the time of the end, a war, between the wilful Roman king on the one hand and the kings of the South and the North on the other hand, is the first calamitous event, by which that time is marked¹; and, according to the account which St. John gives of the seventh vial which synchronises with the time of the end, this war must be identified with the

¹ Dan. xi. 40.

voices and thunders and lightnings and hail, which, at its effusion, begin to operate ¹.

Hence it seems most probable, that by the harvest we are to understand this desolating war, which, although but the beginning of the last troubles, will in its progress mow down vast multitudes of God's enemies, and will occasion a high degree of misery throughout the apostate Roman Empire.

(2.) But, whatever may be intended by the harvest, there is no difficulty in ascertaining the event intended by the vintage.

As all commentators are agreed, this closing judgment can only mean the final destruction of the Roman beast with the false prophet and the confederated kings of the earth in the battle of Armageddon: and this final destruction corresponds with the parallel final destruction of the wilful Roman king; who will, at that time, act as the then revived, though now defunct, seventh head of the Roman Empire.

¹ Rev. xvi. 18, 21.

BOOK VI.



**AN EXPOSITION OF THE SECOND PORTION OF
THE SEALED OR LARGER BOOK OF THE
APOCALYPSE.**

CHAPTER I.

RESPECTING THE CHRONOLOGICAL JUNCTION OF THE TWO SEPARATED PORTIONS OF THE LARGER SEALED BOOK OF THE APOCALYPSE.

As the regular chronological evolution of the larger sealed book of the Apocalypse was interrupted by the parenthetical insertion of the smaller open book : so, when the smaller open book, in all its five sections, has been brought to a termination, the prophet returns to the larger sealed book, which for a season he had quitted. Such being the case, we must obviously conclude, that he resumes his original subject at the precise chronological point where he departed from it for the sake of parenthetically introducing the smaller open book.

I. The first portion of the larger sealed book of the Apocalypse brought us down, in regular chronological succession, from the birth of Nebuchadnezzar, the golden head of the metallic image, in the year before Christ 657, to the close of the sixth trumpet or the second woe-trumpet in the year after Christ 1697 ¹.

At that point of time was introduced the episode of the little open book : which, returning to the

¹ See above book iv. chap. 2. § II. 1. chap. 7. § II. 5.

commencement of the fifth trumpet or the first woe-trumpet, gives a full history of the great demonolatrous Apostasy during the permitted period of three times and a half or during the latter moiety of the grand period of seven times.

This being accomplished, and the contents of the little open book having now been detailed, the prophet resumes his account of the larger sealed book ; beginning again, as might naturally be expected, where he had left off for the purpose of introducing the little open book.

But the chronological point, where the narrative of the larger sealed book had been interrupted, was the close of the sixth trumpet and the passing away of the second woe in the year after Christ 1697.

Therefore the narrative must be resumed with the commencement of the seventh trumpet : which ushers in the third great woe ; and which comprehends within its own period of sounding, as so many successive blasts, the seven vials full of the last plagues, for in them the wrath of God is accomplished ¹.

II. But, although the narrative of the larger sealed book is assumed with the commencement of the seventh trumpet as developed by the effusion of its seven successive vials ; yet, in order to furnish one of those 'chronological links, by which the various parallel parts of the Apocalypse are bound together, the sounding of the seventh trumpet itself

¹ See above book ii. chap. 4. § I, III.

is mentioned in the little open book : and, at the same time, a summary account of the third woe is given ; which summary account forms a kind of syllabus to the enlarged account of it, that is afterward detailed in its proper place, when the prophet, returning to the larger sealed book, comes to treat of the seven vials ¹.

III. In the year 1697, the second woe passed away : and the warning voice of the hierophantic angel announces, that the third woe will quickly succeed it ².

Now the first woe passed away at the end of the five prophetic months or in the year 762 ; and the second woe did not commence, until the year 1301 : consequently, a space of more than five centuries elapsed, between the termination of the first woe, and the commencement of the second.

But no such ample period is to intervene, between the termination of the second woe, and the commencement of the third : for the third woe is to come *quickly* after the termination of the second ; that is to say, quickly when compared with the long-delayed coming of the second after the termination of the first.

Hence, as more than five centuries elapsed, between the termination of the first woe, and the coming of the second ; and as five centuries at the least are, consequently, made the measure of the

¹ Rev. xi. 14—19.

² Rev. xi. 14.

comparative rapidity, with which the third follows the termination of the second : we may reasonably conclude, that the word *quickly* is employed to describe any space of time not exceeding the period of about a century. For, if the third woe commences about a century or less than a century after the termination of the second ; it may, when a comparison is instituted between one century or less and a period exceeding five centuries, well be said to come *quickly*.

CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING THE JOINT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE
HOMOGENEOUS WOES OF THE APOCALYPSE.

By the three woes, which the three last of the seven trumpets are said to introduce, we must evidently understand three periods of unusual and peculiar trouble to that Empire, which is the geographical platform of the whole apocalyptic prophecy.

Between the rival princes of the divided Roman Empire, there have always been wars and fightings : but these are of too vague and indefinite and transitory a nature to be specially described or characterised. The three woes, on the contrary, stand out from the undistinguishable mass of common troubles, preëminent both by their magnitude and by their singularity ; so that they naturally form three marked and striking periods of history.

Nor is this, I apprehend, their only peculiarity. I have often insisted upon the very valuable and important principle of *homogeneity*, as a point which ought ever to be borne in mind by a prudent expositor of the Apocalypse. Hence, agreeably to this leading principle, there must, to a certain ex-

tent, be an uniformity of *character* discernible in all the three woes : so that they should all belong, as it were, to the same *species* of misery.

I. If, then, we open the volume of modern history, subsequent to the partition of the Western Empire, which was effected, by the ten Gothic nations, during the blasts of the three first trumpets; we shall readily discover a period, which, from the marked singularity of the events comprehended within it, may well be denominated a period of unusual woe to the grand platform of the Roman Empire.

While the princes of the West were waging war with each other much after the ordinary mode which characterises *every* age alike, the Saracens burst forth suddenly and unexpectedly from Arabia, vehemently attacked the Eastern Roman Empire, conquered the provinces of Syria and Palestine and Egypt and Africa, subjugated Spain, mastered Sicily and the south of Italy well nigh to the very gates of Rome, and penetrated even into the more northern region of France itself. Their progress was, for a season, portentously rapid : but, after the lapse of a century and a half, they ceased from their career of victory : and thenceforth they were troublesome to the Roman Empire, only in the way of ordinary warfare.

Here we have evidently a period, which minutely corresponds with the predicted period of the first apocalyptic woe : a woe, be it observed, which, in

point of chronology, is represented as being *successive* to the partition of the Western Empire during the blast of the three first trumpets.

After the year 762, when the Saracens became a settled people, and when they ceased to be any marked or peculiar woe to their Roman neighbours, nothing very particular occurred for the space of more than five centuries. During that period, the Latin princes were perpetually fighting, sometimes with each other, and sometimes with the Saracens. Success now inclined to this party, and now attended upon that party. The Latins beat the Saracens; and the Saracens beat the Latins. Sometimes, one Gothic prince obtained the preëminence; and, sometimes, another. But, through more than five whole centuries, no calamity occurred of a sufficiently definite nature to vindicate to itself the character of a second great woe, when viewed comparatively and analogically to the woe of the Saracens.

II. At the beginning, however, of the fourteenth century, another marked and extraordinary period of trouble commenced.

The four Sultanies of the Turks, which had for a considerable time been confined to the Euphratèan region by the arms of the Latin crusaders, being at length united under one sceptre and thus constituting the mighty Power of the Ottomans, strenuously attacked the Eastern Roman Empire, and ceased not until they had entirely subverted it. By this revolution, the whole eastern wing of the

eagle became subject to the Turcomans : nor did they desist from more or less tormenting the western wing, until, at the close of the seventeenth century, they were reduced to a point of depression, from which they never thoroughly recovered themselves ; for, from that time down to the present, their power has rapidly decayed ; and, instead of being any longer formidable to Christendom, their potent and ambitious neighbours have rather been formidable to them.

Here, then, we have evidently a second period, which no less minutely corresponds with the predicted period of the second apocalyptic woe, than the first period corresponded with that of the first woe : and this second marked period was *long* in following the termination of the first period ; a matter, clearly insinuated in what is said respecting the arrival of the third woe : for, if the third woe is *quickly* to follow the termination of the second ; we are very intelligibly taught, by a necessary implication, that the second woe is to follow the termination of the first *not quickly*.

Thus, by only a moderate attention to history, we may very easily discern, what the prophetic Spirit must have intended by the two first apocalyptic woes : and, accordingly, on no point has there been a more general concurrence among expositors, than in the application of these two woes to the Saracens and the Turks. They form, as it were, two beacons or landmarks : the application of them has become almost an axiom or an adjudged case,

from which no reasonable appeal can be made : and nothing is left to any modern interpreter, save a more severe and a more accurate discussion of subordinate particulars than was always entered upon by his predecessors.

But, while the two successive periods of Saracenic and Turkish domination plainly stand out from the ordinary mass of Roman misery as the two first apocalyptic woes : they are, no less plainly, so far as their grand characteristics are concerned, strictly homogeneous periods.

• The Saracens and the Turks differed from the common herd of those, who subjugated any part of the Roman platform, in the peculiarity of their religious principles : and, as they differed from others, so they agreed between themselves. When the northern warriors invaded the Western Empire, they were pagans : but so little were they attached to the worship of their fathers, and so small was the animosity which they entertained toward the christian faith ; that, in a very short space of time, they unanimously renounced their heathen idolatry, and embraced the religion of those whom they had conquered. On the contrary, the Saracens and the Turks had embraced a creed professedly and inveterately hostile to the Gospel : and, so far from renouncing this creed as they established themselves upon the Roman platform, they detested and persecuted and trampled upon all those who refused to become proselytes. • The two periods, during which they dominantly flourished, were not periods of or-

dinary and vulgar conquest : they were marked as much by *principles decidedly inimical to Christianity*, as by *victories achieved over those who bore the Christian name*. Hence the two periods are homogeneous in two several ways. Each great woe is marked alike, by *rapid conquest*, and by *violent hostility to the Gospel*. The two evidently belong to one and the same species : and, unless the principle of homogeneity be entirely relinquished, we must undoubtedly say, arguing from what has already happened, that the generic characteristics of an apocalyptic woe are RAPID MILITARY CONQUEST and FURIOUS HATRED OF CHRISTIANITY.

III. With the clue which we now have, both geographical and chronological and characteristical, it will not be difficult to ascertain the commencement of that third period, which is described, in the apocalyptic series, as being the period of a third remarkable woe.

After the Turks ceased, in the year 1697, to be a woe to the Roman Empire, various wars took place, as usual, between the Latin princes. Sometimes, this Power was successful ; and, at other times, that Power : but nothing very particular, nothing at all analogous to the theologico-military exploits of the Saracens and the Turks, occurred. The world heard much of what was denominated *the balance of power* and *the grand European system* : and this happy political contrivance, which had been usefully employed to clip the wings of the fourteenth Louis, was deemed so potent and effica-

cious, that no fundamental disturbance of the public tranquillity was in the least degree anticipated. Wars, of course, were occasionally to be expected : but, after the contending parties 'had' sufficiently worried each other, a peace, made through the mediation of powerful and jealous neighbours, usually placed them, at the end of each struggle, pretty much in the same relative state as they were at its beginning. There might be a considerable loss of blood and treasure : but, in the outlines of the great European Republic, with the exception of the political disappearance of Poland, no material alteration took place, 'save what was slowly and gradually effected by the hand of time alone.

This state of things continued, until the year 1789 ; when a new period commenced of a wholly different character from that, which had preceded it. The long-cherished balance of power was destroyed in an instant : and the rise of a baleful and eccentric comet above the political horizon formed an epoch, which will never cease to be memorable in history. As a modern writer has well observed, *the fall of the French Monarchy was marked with all the characters of suddenness and mysterious power, which peculiarly appertain to the times of God's extraordinary visitations* : and, as we have since had but too much reason to know by bitter experience, the year 1789 has constituted so complete a line of historical demarcation, that what *preceded* that year seems almost to belong to

a different planet from that on which were transacted the giant deeds which *followed* it.

But, though we are at once almost irresistibly led to suspect, that the epoch of the French Revolution must have been the epoch of the third great woe ; so important, perhaps so startling, a position must not be admitted, without the most jealous and severe scrutiny. Let us, then, proceed to examine, whether there be any solid ground for believing, that the seventh apocalyptic trumpet began to sound in the year 1789, that the period of a new woe then commenced, and consequently that that year is one of the grand prophetic epochs.

1. The second woe terminated in the year 1697 : and the chronological badge of the third woe is, that it should come *quickly*. More than five whole centuries had elapsed, between the termination of the first woe, and the coming of the second : but, when the second terminates, the third *quickly* follows.

To this chronological character, the period, commencing with the French Revolution, exactly and fully answers.

Just 92 years after the termination of the second woe, a space of time *very short* when compared with a term of 539 years, the period in question commenced. Consequently, if the seventh apocalyptic trumpet began to sound at the epoch of the French Revolution ; the third great woe, which that trumpet introduces, came *quickly* after the passing away of the second woe.

Nor is this all. Since the chronological characteristic of the third woe is *Quickness of succession to the passing away of the second woe*, it is evident, that, if the period of the third woe did *not* commence with the French Revolution in the year 1789, every fleeting year will abstract somewhat from the propriety and accuracy of that chronological characteristic. Thus, for instance, the year 1827, which is now evolving, will not correspond so accurately with such a badge as the year 1789 ; because the one is distant from the passing away of the second woe not less than 130 years, while the other is distant from the same era only 92 years : and, if we look beyond the year 1827 to some yet remotely future year for the commencement of the third woe, the propriety of the chronological characteristic will be altogether done away ; for, in that case, the third woe, instead of *quickly* following the termination of the second woe, will in truth follow it *slowly*. Hence, if I mistake not, the adoption of the year 1789, as the era of the commencement of the third woe, is absolutely and imperiously *demanded* by the very chronological notation of the prophecy itself.

2. Such is the declared chronological badge of the third woe : its geographical characteristic is the same as that of its two predecessors.

I beheld, says St. John, and heard, an angel flying in the meridian, saying with a loud voice : Woe, Woe, Woe, to THE INHABITANTS OF THE EARTH,

*by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound*¹.

The Roman Empire in its widest extent, or the geographical platform of the great metallic image when completed, is the stage on which the drama of the Apocalypse is exhibited : and the term, by which that Empire is designated, is sometimes *the earth* and sometimes *the world*. Now the three woes are described, as alike affecting *the inhabitants of the earth* : consequently, their common geographical characteristic is, that they are three woes to *the people of the Roman Empire*. Accordingly, the Saracenic woe and the Turkish woe mainly affected the eastern wing of the Empire ; though they likewise tormented, to a certain extent, its western wing. The third woe, therefore, must similarly affect the Roman Empire, either in the east or in the west or throughout its whole extent.

With this geographical note, the supposed period of the third woe has hitherto perfectly corresponded. It has eminently been a woe to the entire Western Empire ; and its effects have been felt also in Syria and in Egypt. So we may safely affirm *at present* : but, from the account of it which is more fully given under the seven vials, we have reason to expect, that it will ere long be a woe to the Roman Empire in its widest extent ; for to this grand

¹ Rom. viii. 13.

apocalyptic period belong, both the future tyranny of the revived seventh head of the beast, the downfall of the Ottoman Power, the wars of the wilful Roman king in Syria and Egypt and Palestine, the restoration of the Jews during a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, and the final overthrow of the antichristian faction between the Dead Sea and the Levant.

3. To the chronological and geographical badges of the third woe, we have now only to add those generic characteristics, which homogeneity requires that we should ascribe to the third woe, as well as to its two predecessors: I mean RAPID MILITARY CONQUEST and FURIOUS HATRED OF CHRISTIANITY.

Now, by these characteristics, the supposed period of the third woe has been marked quite as eminently as the periods either of the first or of the second.

In an incredibly short space of time, Revolutionary France, either republican or imperial, may be said to have subjugated nearly the whole of the Western Empire and to have carried her victorious arms into regions where the Roman eagle never flew. Nor was her progress marked by mere vulgar conquest only; the very basis of the Revolution was a fanatical hatred of Christianity: and, if (in the language of Daniel) Mohammedism, whether professed by the Saracens or by the Turks, was remarkable for magnifying itself even against the Prince of the allegorical host; Revolutionary France has been no less conspicuous, for speaking

marvellous things against the God of gods, and for impiously disregarding the Desire of women.

She has been checked, it is true, in mid career : but this has only happened, exactly according to the sure word of prophecy. She has prospered, until her defiance of the Most High was completed ; and then the tide of retribution turned against her : she has been successful, until the fifth angel poured his vial upon her imperial throne ; and then her kingdom became full of darkness. Yet, from prophecy, we are taught to expect, that the same short-lived seventh head of the Roman beast, which was slain by the sword of violence, will in due time revive ; that this resuscitated head will subjugate the whole Papal Empire of the West, and form it into one grand irreligious confederacy against Jehovah and against his Christ ; that the same military head will conquer Syria and Egypt and Palestine ; that it will go forth, with great fury, to devote many to utter destruction ; but that, at length, when the third woe shall have spent itself, this revived last head of the beast, under which we are taught the beast himself goes to destruction, will come to its end, none being able to help it, between the seas, in the vicinity of the holy mountain, in the tremendous fight of Armageddon.

Thus, when the several leading characteristics of the third woe, chronological and geographical and generic, are all duly considered ; I cannot but think, that we have attained to as high a degree of moral certainty as the nature of the subject will

admit, that the period of the third woe commenced, in the year 1789, with that most strongly and prominently and calamitously marked event the French Revolution. The conquests of the Mohammedan, and therefore *antichristian*, Saracens' occupy *one* distinguished period in history : the conquests of the Mohammedan, and therefore *antichristian*, Turks occupy another distinguished period. After these two periods have rolled away, where shall we find a *third* equally, and similarly distinguished ; *a third*, moreover, destined *rapidly* to succeed the termination of the second ? To such a question, it will be difficult to give any answer save the following : that the conquests of the infidel, and therefore specially *antichristian*, French, with the amazingly extensive consequences which have already resulted and which (as we learn from the explicit declarations of prophecy) will hereafter result from their tremendous Revolution, must be viewed as occupying that *third* eminently distinguished period which we sought after. Now the Saracens and the Turks are almost universally allowed to be the subjects of the two first woe-trumpets : insomuch that such an application of those two trumpets constitutes, as I have already observed, two grand land-marks or beacons in the wide field of prophetic exposition. But are *they* more worthy of a place in the oracles of God, than the daring impieties, the unheard of miseries, and the vast changes throughout the whole Western Empire, which have flowed from the French Revolu-

tion? In *matter of fact*, that Revolution has constituted an eminent and remarkable and perfectly characteristic woe to the inhabitants of the earth or to the nations of the Roman Empire, whether or not it be the beginning of the *specific* third woe announced by the warning angel: and, since every future historian will be compelled to reckon a new order of things from this dreadful convulsion; it is surely the reverse of improbability, that the year 1789 should have been selected, by the Spirit of prophecy, as one of the grand eras of the Apocalypse.

On the whole, I cannot deem it either unreasonable or incongruous to suppose, that the third woe-trumpet began to sound at the commencement of the French Revolution, and that what we have hitherto seen of that Revolution constitutes the first portion of the third woe. Its second and concluding portion is yet future: for the woe itself does not pass away, until the contents of the still un-effused seventh vial shall have been exhausted.

CHAPTER III.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD
WOE-TRUMPET, WHICH, AS A CHRONOLOGICAL LINK,
IS GIVEN IN THE LITTLE OPEN BOOK.

I SHALL now proceed to analyse that summary account of the third woe-trumpet, which, in the way of a chronological link, is given in the little open book, preparatory to that more enlarged account of it, which is afterward given in the second portion of the greater sealed book when the prophet describes the baleful effects produced by the successive effusion of its seven constituent vials.

The second woe is past: and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly. And the seventh angel sounded: and there were great voices in heaven, saying; The sovereignty of the world has become our Lord's and his Christ's¹: and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying: We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast and art to come, because thou hast taken thy great power and hast exercised

¹ See above book v. chap. 2, § IV. note.

thy sovereignty. And the nations were angry, and thy wrath has come : and it is the season of the dead to be judged ; the season also to give recompense to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to those that fear thy name, small and great ; the season also to destroy them, who destroy the earth. And the temple of God in heaven was opened ; and the ark of his covenant was seen in his temple : and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail¹.

I. We may, I think, clearly enough perceive, as I have already observed, that the summary account of the third woe, at present before us, is a kind of syllabus to the more enlarged account of it which is given in the vision of the seven vials : though, as the seventh trumpet must obviously begin to sound before the first subincluded vial begins to be poured out, the earliest matter specified in the summary account must commence with the trumpet itself ; and therefore must commence before the effusion of the first subincluded vial, though it runs through the entire period of all the vials, because it runs through the entire period of their universally comprehending trumpet.

1. *And the seventh angel sounded : and there were great voices in heaven, saying ; The sovereignty of the world has become our Lord's and his Christ's : and he shall reign for ever and*

¹ Rev. xi. 14—19.

ever. And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God, saying: We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast and art to come, because thou hast taken thy great power, and hast exercised thy sovereignty.

Few passages in the Apocalypse have been more generally and more thoroughly misunderstood than the present clause. By the adoption of a faulty reading, which has plainly crept into the text through the influence of an expository predetermination; which, however, is utterly irreconcilable with the context; and which has therefore, on abundantly sufficient authority, been judiciously rejected by Griesbach: through the adoption, I say, of this faulty reading, the passage has been very commonly supposed to intimate, that, upon the sounding of the seventh angel, *the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ*; or, in other words, that the universal conversion of the Gentiles to the pure faith of the Gospel is effected.

When such an explanation has been taken up, the question obviously occurs: How is it possible, that the universal conversion of the Gentiles, or the inauguration of the Millennial Church, can be one of the three great woes, which are destined successively to afflict the inhabitants of the Roman earth; how is it possible, that an event, rapturously celebrated by the prophets as producing only peace and holiness and happiness, can be a woe, homogeneous

in its nature and character to the two antecedent woes of the Saracens and the Turks?

To this very natural question, Bishop Newton replies, that *St. John is rapt and hurried away, as it were, to a view of the happy Millennium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it.* Hence, though the general conversion of the Gentiles is mentioned *the first in order*, it is *the last in accomplishment*: for *the anger of the nations and the destruction of those who destroyed the earth* are chronologically the earliest events of the third woe-trumpet; and, when these events have occurred, *then, and not till then* (says the Bishop), *according to the heavenly chorus, the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.*

This arbitrary and unauthorised gloss will not, for a moment, stand the test of dispassionate examination.

The very *principle* of the gloss itself rests upon a palpably inaccurate statement. *St. John*, says the Bishop, *is rapt and hurried away to a view of the happy Millennium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it.* Now, in matter of fact, *St. John himself*, whatever allowance may be made for human infirmity, *cannot* be the person, who is represented as being thus unchronologically rapt and hurried away. The words are not the words of *the prophet*: but they are words, which he heard uttered by *great voices in heaven*,

immediately upon the sounding of the seventh angel. Hence, if there be any hurrying away in the case, it must have been experienced, not by *St. John*, but by *those who uttered the great oracular voices in heaven*. But such a supposition is plainly most indecorous and intolerable. Hence, let the text mean what it may, we *must* view it as expressing the very first event, which occurs on the sounding of the third woe-trumpet. If, therefore, the conversion of the Gentiles be intended, the conversion of the Gentiles must be effected when the third woe-trumpet begins to sound: and thus we shall have, not only the gross contradiction of that grand and happy event being spoken of as a great woe *homogeneous* in nature and character to the two preceding woes of the Saracens and the Turks, but likewise the glaring chronological error of the conversion of the Gentiles being placed *anterior* to the fall of the Antichristian Empire.

In truth, the passage has not the slightest reference to the conversion of the Gentiles: on the contrary, it relates to what the elders immediately afterward denominate *God's taking great power to himself and exercising his regal sovereignty*. The two oppressive little horns of Popery and Mohammedism had long been permitted to run their career of tyranny and injustice: but the time of that judgment, which Daniel describes as beginning *before* the time of the end though reaching *through* its whole period, had now commenced¹. God had

¹ Dan. vii. 9—11, 26.

taken to himself his penal sovereignty, though the exercise of it might seem to have been long suspended: and the season was now come, to recompense all the sufferings of his persecuted servants upon the heads of their oppressors, and to destroy those who had for ages destroyed the earth with impunity. *The sovereignty of the world*, cries the chorus of proclaiming voices, as soon as the third woe-trumpet begins to sound: *The sovereignty of the world has become our Lord's and his Christ's; and he shall reign for ever and ever.* To this annunciation, the four and twenty elders, the representatives of the Church Universal, reply: *We give thee thanks, O Lord, because thou hast taken thy great power, and hast exercised thy sovereignty.* The conversion of the Gentiles is not the matter now in hand, but the punishment of God's enemies. It is not said, that the kingdoms of this world are become the converted kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ: but it is said, that God has now assumed his penal sovereignty for the purpose of vindicating his servants and of punishing the long-permitted enemies of his Gospel.

Such is the general meaning of the passage: but we must not omit to notice its particular geographical limitation. The text does not speak of God's penal sovereignty over *this* world, by which phraseology all the inhabitants of our globe would have been intended: it speaks only of God's penal sovereignty over *the* world, by which phraseology is

meant, in the language of the Apocalypse, the Roman world or the Roman Empire. Hence, in the exercise of this sovereignty during the period of the third woe, he destroys the destroyers of the earth or the persecuting tyrants who have long harassed with impunity the Roman Empire: and, hence, the third woe, like its two predecessors, is said to be a woe to the inhabitants of the earth or to the inhabitants of the Roman platform in its widest extent.

The matter now begins to be abundantly plain. At the commencement of the third woe-trumpet, the time has come for God to exercise with great power his penal sovereignty over the whole Roman Empire. The season has arrived for the incipient judgment of Popery and Mohammedism: and, since the Lord regards with peculiar wrath and jealousy the corruption of *his own* law by *his own* professed ministers, *the time is come that judgment must BEGIN at the house of God*¹. Hence, when the third woe-trumpet sounds, the penal sovereignty of Jehovah is *first* exercised upon Popery: it is not until the effusion of the sixth vial, that it is very sensibly felt by Mohammedism. But, as the exercise of this sovereignty commences with the third woe-trumpet, so does it run through the whole period of that trumpet: for all the seven vials are jointly called *the seven last plagues*, because in them is filled up the wrath of God². Accordingly,

¹ 1 Peter iv. 17.

² Rev. xv. 1.

at the close of the third woe and while the seventh vial is on the point of being exhausted, the sovereignty of the Lord is most eminently exercised in the final overthrow of the entire antichristian faction.¹

In the exercise of his judgments, God has frequently, perhaps generally, through all ages, employed the *worst* of mankind; to whom, for that purpose, he gives a temporary success. Such, we are assured, were the idolatrous Assyrians under the Levitical Dispensation²: such also, in their character of two great woes to the inhabitants of the Roman earth, were the professedly antichristian Saracens and Turks: such again, in their character of the third great woe to the inhabitants of the same Roman earth, are the yet more professedly antichristian adherents of practical Infidelity. Respecting the particular national agent employed in this service of penal judgment, when the sovereignty of the Roman world has become our Lord's and his Christ's, we may well say, as it was said of his type and precursor the Assyrian of old: *I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so: but it is in his heart to*

¹ Rev. xix. 11—21.

² Isaiah x. 5—19.

*destroy, and to cut off nations not a few*¹. Yet have we no reason to apprehend any danger to the cause of genuine Christianity. Our Lord has founded it upon a rock, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. The agents of the third woe have performed a *part* of their allotted task: and, forthwith, we behold their power humbled, for a season, to the dust. A *part* yet remains to be done: and, for this purpose, we are assured, that the sword-slain seventh head of the Roman beast will be revived as a nominally eighth king, though he is truly but one of the preceding seven. Under his auspices, the period of the third woe will be continued: and the unconscious tools of God's penal sovereignty will again torment the inhabitants of the earth. But, when the task has been fully performed, the worthless agents will be broken in the field of Armageddon, and will be thrown aside as a shivered rod no longer serviceable to its owner².

2. And the nations were angry, and thy wrath has come.

When the wrath of God came at the commencement of the third woe-trumpet, the nations of the Western Empire were, on their part likewise, universally enraged. The anger of Revolutionary France shewed itself, in deeds of unexampled atrocity, in violent proclamations against kings simply

¹ Isaiah x. 6, 7.

² Isaiah x. 12, 13, 16, 33.

as kings, in liberal offers of assistance to the ruffians of all other countries, and in a blasphemous defiance of God himself. On the contrary, the anger of the yet unrevolutionised nations vehemently expressed itself both in words of censure and in deeds of resistance. The conduct of the French Republicans was first loudly and very justly reprobated: and this indignant reprobation was soon followed by a series of wars, which set fire to Europe in all its four quarters. Yet, though Protestants had long expected those awful judgments, by which the mystical Babylon was first to be shaken and afterward to be overthrown: nevertheless, when the judgments in question *did* come, they did not sufficiently see the hand of God in them. Because the rod of his indignation was stained with blood and polluted with blasphemy, they could not readily believe that it was the Lord himself who wielded so obscure an instrument. They forgot, that a public executioner is not selected, either by God or by man, on account of his eminent virtues or his exemplary religious conduct. The office of hangman, however necessary it may be in every well ordered government, is usually filled by the vilest of the people: it confers no respectability upon its possessor, though he is armed with the full authority of the law. Thus, analogically, when God has need to employ an executioner of his wrath (and we are assured, that his wrath came at the commencement of the third woe), he does not ordinarily select his own people for the

task : the wicked are punished through the unconscious agency of the wicked ; Infidelity and Anarchy have been employed to batter down the outworks of the allegorical Babylon. Yet, while the sword of God was thus going through the land, the nations were universally and notoriously angry : nor perhaps has there ever been a more remarkable season of rage and animosity, than since the commencement of the French Revolution.

This clause, like the preceding one, may be fitly considered, as extending through the periods of all the seven vials, and as reaching even to the final overthrow of the antichristian faction.

3. *And it is the season of the dead to be judged.*

The poetical machinery of the third woe, agreeably to the regular and conventional practice of the Hebrew Prophets when they have occasion to describe God's temporal judgment upon a wicked nation or community, is borrowed from the solemnities of the literal day of judgment at the final consummation of all things ¹.

Hence, with strict decorum and consistency, as the literal dead are judged at the literal day of spiritual judgment : so the figurative dead are judged at this figurative day of temporal judgment ; in which the apostate Roman Empire is first summoned to appear before the tribunal of the Ancient of days ².

¹ See above book i. chap. i. § I. 13. book ii. chap. i. § II. 2.

² Compare Dan. vii. 9—11.

Such being the poetical machinery of the passage, the dead, who are now temporally judged, will denote, I apprehend, *all* those inhabitants of the mystical earth, whether good or bad, who are the subjects of the temporal judgment in question, whether for acquittal or for condemnation.

This interpretation, if I mistake not, is required by the decorum of the imagery. For, since, with reference to the literal day of judgment; the word *dead* imports *universality*, as to the persons who are finally judged, either for acquittal or for condemnation, in the final judgment of all mankind: so, analogously, with reference to this figurative day of judgment, the word *dead* must similarly import *universality*, as to the persons who are temporally judged, either for acquittal or for condemnation, in the temporal judgment of the Roman Empire¹.

¹ I prefer this exposition to that, which supposes, that by *the dead* are meant *those who suffered martyrdom for the Gospel*, and that by *their being judged* is intended *the vindication of their cause through some eminent interposition of Providence in the punishment of their persecutors or the existing representatives of their persecutors*. See Lowman's Paraph. p. 143. Cuninghame's Dissert. p. 133. 2d edit.

Such an interpretation destroys that idea of *universality*, which is imposed upon the word *dead* by the consistency of the poetical machinery.

That the idea of *universality* must be carefully retained, is further evident from the two succeeding clauses: for they bear exactly the same relation to the present clause, that *species* bears to *genus*.

According to my view of the present clause, *the dead* are first

To a certain degree, this clause may be likewise said to run through the successive periods of all the seven vials : but we may eminently observe its operation during the effusion of the second, the third, the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh.

4. *The season also to give recompense to thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to those that fear thy name, both small and great.*

Since the recompense, here spoken of as given to God's servants, is a recompense in this present world, a recompense given *during* the period of the third great woe and *previous* to the joyful period of millennial blessedness ; it must obviously mean a recompense of vengeance upon the heads of their long-triumphant enemies and oppressors. Accordingly, after the dreadful carnage which turns the allegorical waters of the Roman earth into

universally and *collectively* said to be judged. Afterward, in the two succeeding clauses, they are divided, into *the saints who fear the name of God*, and *the wicked who destroy the earth*.

In short, as the dead *universally* are the subjects of the literal future judgment : so, to sustain the decorum of the figure, the subjects *universally* of the figurative temporal judgment of the Roman Empire are tropically styled *the dead*.

Such phraseology flows, naturally and of necessity, from the poetical machinery employed by the Hebrew Prophets. If the temporal visitation of the Roman Empire be symbolised by the day of judgment ; then, obviously, the persons, temporally judged in the course of this visitation, cannot but be symbolised by the collective dead. This strikes me, as being, on the principle of consistent symbolisation, the only true *rationalè* of the peculiar phraseology here employed by St. John.

blood under the influence of the second and third vials, the avenging angel, who figuratively presides over them, is heard to say : *Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus ; for they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink for they are worthy*¹.

5. *The season also to destroy them, who destroy the earth.*

This clause, though it may be fitly viewed as including the sense of its predecessor, eminently regards, if I mistake not, the consummating period of the seventh vial. At the close of the latter 1260 years, and during that awful season of unexampled trouble which characterises the time of the end ; the antichristian faction, which, under various names, had so long harassed and destroyed the Roman Empire, will itself be destroyed in the great day of Armageddon. The period of destruction did, indeed, commence at the first blast of the third woe-trumpet : but its acmè will be, when the vine of the earth is gathered and cast into the great winepress of the wrath of God, when the winepress is trodden without the city, and when blood comes out of it even unto the horses' bridles by the space of that well known measure of Palestine 1600 furlongs².

6. *And the temple of God in heaven was*

¹ Rev. xvi. 5, 6.

² Rev. xiv. 19, 20. See D'Anville's Map of Palestine with scales of measures.

opened : and the ark of his covenant was seen in his temple.

The great object of this clause, in the mechanical arrangement of the Apocalypse, is to shew, that the seven vials are all included within the period of the third woe¹ : but so artful is the construction of that divine poem, that, what serves as a connecting link, is itself also a prediction.

In the general account of the third woe, which we are now considering, it is simply said, that the temple of God in heaven was opened, and that the ark of his covenant was seen in his temple : but, in the proëm to the seven vials, it is further said, that the now opened temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power ; so that no man was able to enter into it ; although open, until the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled².

To understand this very remarkable prophecy, we must call to mind, that, during the entire period of the latter 1260 years, the outer court and the holy city are given to the Gentiles ; while the temple of God and the altar, which were comprehended within the inner court, are exclusively appropriated to his figuratively measured servants³. Now the two faithful witnesses, we are told, have power to shut heaven or the temple that the gentle rain of

¹ Compare Rev. xi. 19, with xv. 5—8 ; and see above book ii. chap. 4. § I. 3. (2.)

² Rev. xi. 19. xv. 5—8.

³ Rev. xi. 1, 2.

the pure Gospel descend not upon the Roman earth in the days of their prophecy¹: but, at the commencement of the third woe or immediately before the seven vial-bearing angels come out of it, we are told, that the temple in heaven was *opened*; though we are yet additionally informed, that by reason of a thick smoke no man was able to enter into it, until the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled². Thus it appears, then, that the temple in heaven, which was appropriated to the exclusive use of the measured worshippers during the whole 1260 years, and which was *shut* by the two witnesses during the greater part of their prophecy, was *opened* at the commencement of the third woe and immediately before the seven vials began to be poured out; but that, although now *open*, men were unable to enter into it by reason of a thick smoke, until the effusion of all the seven vials should have been completed: a statement, which of course involves the position, that, when all the seven vials *should* have been poured out, *then* the smoke would clear away, and men *would* be able to enter into it.

Such is the prophecy: and, most accurately and remarkably has it been, hitherto at least, fulfilled.

For a long season, the mystic temple was *shut* through ignorance and bigotry and superstition and persecution³; so that it was occupied by a few

¹ Rev. xi. 6.. Compare xi. 19 and xv. 5.

² Rev. xv. 5—8.

³ Though shut through *the agency* of ignorance and persecu-

faithful worshippers only, if they are compared with the multitudinous hosts of them of the Apostasy. But, when the third woe commenced, its doors were thrown *wide open* by the irresistible energy of an infidel revolution: not indeed that the strong arm of Infidelity performed this good action *intentionally*; but, by furiously attacking the superstition of Popery and by laying its towers and bulwarks prostrate in the dust, it removed every *physical* impediment to the renunciation of demonolatry and to the adoption of a purer faith. Hostile as the French revolutionists were to Christianity itself; yet, by force of arms, they introduced a complete toleration into every popish country which they subjugated. The power of persecution was wrenched by the mailed hand of war from the feeble grasp of a once potent, but now imbecile, priesthood: Protestants were every where placed upon an equal footing with Papists: and the strong military arm, which ruled the whole Western Empire, suffered no witness against the corruptions of Popery to be harassed or persecuted for the sake of his religious opinions. Even now, when the might of Revolutionary France is for a season humbled to the ground,

tion, yet *the two witnesses* are said to have power to shut it. Rev. xi. 6. It will be recollected, that, in scriptural language; the prophets are said to *do*, what they only *foretell* or *announce* or *declare*. Hence the clear meaning of the passage is, that, *declaratively*, the two witnesses shut the temple in heaven; but that, *instrumentally*, it is shut by the ignorance and persecution of those, who bear the blasphemous name *Apostates* impressed upon their foreheads.

the principle of universal tolerance still subsists in full force : and, if the infernal tribunal of the Inquisition has been reëstablished in Spain ; the deed has excited general reprobation throughout Europe, and the energy of that court seems hitherto at least to have been mainly exerted not so much against theological as against political offenders, not so much against spiritual as against what are deemed secular heretics.

Thus has the mystic temple of God been *opened*, at the very time when the word of prophecy foretold that it *should* be opened. So far as any *physical* impediments are concerned, all that will may enter : no fires, or swords, or racks, or tortures, now impede their access. But still we are told, that, although *open*, no man was able to enter into the temple by reason of a thick smoke, until the effusion of all the seven vials should have been completed. Such, accordingly, has been the fact. Though every *physical* impediment be now removed, and though the doors of the temple be thrown wide open ; yet, through the *moral* impediment of a thick intellectual smoke, no man can enter into it. Even where the light of the Gospel shines the brightest, the adherent of the Roman Church is unable to discern its excellency. The temple is *open* : but clouds and darkness bar up his approach, no less effectually than persecution itself.

In this state, with certain limitations and exceptions no doubt ; for, when it is said that *no man* could enter into the opened temple, we must not so

interpret the prophecy to the letter as to conclude that absolutely *no* conversions from Popery would be effected : in this state, so far as the great outlines are concerned, we are assured that matters will continue, until all the seven vials shall have been poured out. But, when, under the influence of the seventh vial, Babylon shall be overthrown and the great antichristian confederacy shall be broken : then the thick smoke will pass away ; the Latin superstition will appear to all in its true colours ; each individual will eagerly enter into the open temple ; and the temple, thus filled with sincere worshippers, will in fact constitute the pure Church of the Millennium.

We must not fail to observe the very important corollary, which results from such an explanation of this interesting prophecy.

Many excellent men, dissatisfied with every exposition which has been offered of the death and revival of the two apocalyptic witnesses, and prepossessed with the notion that nothing less can be intended by that death than a complete and violent suppression of scriptural Christianity, have terrified themselves with an apprehension of some dreadful impending persecution, on the ground that the slaughter of the two witnesses is a *still future* event. I am myself fully convinced, that it is *already past* : and, with this opinion, the tenor of the present oracle perfectly corresponds ; because, if I mistake not, it distinctly pronounces, that there will be no more direct persecution for conscience

sake. The temple was opened at the commencement of the third woe-trumpet, which (as we have abundant reason to believe) began to sound in the year 1789: and not the slightest intimation is given, that it will ever be shut again; though, for a season, the moral impediment of spiritual darkness prevents multitudes from entering into it. Now, if there be any great persecution yet to come, a persecution so extensive as to amount to an absolute suppression of sincere Christianity; it is clear, that the now open temple will be shut again: for admission into it will then be opposed by a physical impediment. But the present oracle describes it as standing wide open, during the whole time that the seven vials are pouring out, though men are unable to enter into it by reason of a thick smoke. Therefore no physical impediment, such as direct and overt persecution, will bar up access to it during the effusion of the seven vials. But, under the seventh vial, Babylon falls and the Roman beast is destroyed. Therefore, as no persecution takes place *before* those events; we may be sure, that none will take place *after* them: because, when the antichristian confederacy is broken, the Millennial Church is forthwith inaugurated¹.

¹ In expressing my belief, on the authority of the present oracle, that there will be no future persecution for conscience sake, it will of course be understood, that I speak only of direct and open and legalised persecution unto death by fire and sword.

Doubtless, wherever Popery exists, either as the predominant

7. And there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

The prophet, having immediately before men-

religion, or as the religion of the majority; *there* also will exist that professedly immutable and unrelenting spirit, which, when prevented, either by the strong arm of the law or by the tone which generally prevails throughout the great European Commonwealth, from venting itself in direct persecution unto blood, will still display the real character of the Roman Church in a thousand acts of petty persecution: a persecution, which consists in annoying, or injuring, or vexing, those who are deemed heretics, and yet more especially those who have been induced to quit the Latin communion from a full conviction of its gross and pertinacious apostasy. This minor persecution still subsists in the valleys of Piedmont: for the two witnessing Churches, though they have finished their blood-stained testimony or martyrdom, will continue, agreeably to the declaration of the oracle, to prophesy in sackcloth even to the very end of their appointed 1260 years. The same minor persecution also subsists in Ireland at the present moment: for, whenever a conscientious individual renounces the errors of Popery and adopts the purer creed of the Reformed Church, he is forthwith, by sacerdotal malice, held up to the mischievous hatred of an ignorant and bigotted laity. But such minor persecution amounts not to that, which physically shuts the mystic temple. It is absolute felicity, when compared with the atrocities of the Roman Church during the middle ages or with the system of torture and murder regularly organised by the miscreants of the Inquisition.

That there will be no more direct and legalised persecution to torture and to death, I seem to gather from the purport of the prophecy now before us. Clearly some great change in the condition of matters ecclesiastical must be intended by the opening of that mystic temple, which was heretofore shut: and I see not, what change *can* be intended by the figurative action, save the general discontinuance of direct bloody persecution.

tioned the opening of the temple in heaven ; which we know to occur at the commencement of the third woe, because it occurs previous to the effusion of all the seven vials : the prophet, in this last clause, specifies the whole of the third woe, describing it by its two extremes of commencement and termination. For the lightnings and thunderings and voices, by which figurative language a violent concussion in the political atmosphere is aptly set forth, occur (as we have been already told) upon the first sounding of the seventh angel : and, though the effusion of the seventh vial will produce similar effects, or (in other words) will produce also a great political concussion ; yet the earthquake and the hail-storm are found in the period of no vial, save that of the seventh ¹.

Hence I apprehend, that this last clause, introduced as it is immediately after the opening of the temple, briefly describes the whole third woe from beginning to end.

II. The contents of the third woe having been thus summarily exhibited in a passage, which is inserted in the little open book by way of forming a chronological link of connection with the larger

* ² This earthquake is also the earthquake announced in the syllabus of the seventh seal : for, as the seventh seal comprehends all the trumpets, and as the seventh trumpet comprehends all the vials, the *last* event of the seventh seal, or the earthquake in question, must fall, both under the seventh trumpet, and under the seventh vial. See above, for the establishment of this synchronism, book iv. chap. 4. in init.

sealed book ; St. John, when he returns to that larger sealed book, which he had quitted for a time to introduce the episode of the little open book, describes more fully in its proper place the effects of the third great woe, dividing its entire period into seven smaller periods figuratively distinguished by the effusion of seven vials.

These vials, agreeably to the analogy of the two preceding septenaries, must be chronologically successive in point of *commencement* : but, since no intimation is given (as in the case of the three woe-trumpets), that one vial is absolutely *exhausted* before another *begins* to flow ; we are at full liberty to suppose, that several of these bowls of God's wrath may be flowing *synchronously*, the second (for instance) beginning to be poured out before the first is emptied, and the third beginning to flow previous to the complete exhaustion both of the first and of the second. Accordingly, as the mechanism of the prophecy gives us this freedom of exposition ; so the accomplishment of it shews, that we act right in availing ourselves of such freedom.

In the classification of the vials, the three first describe the atrocities and exploits of Revolutionary France while republican : the fourth and fifth give the history of Revolutionary France while imperial, thus exhibiting the rise and fall of the short-lived and sword-slain seventh head of the Roman beast : the sixth foretells the ruin of the Ottoman Empire, announcing the formation of the antichristian con-

federacy under the seventh Roman head revived in the character of the eighth king who is yet one of the preceding seven : and the seventh winds up the drama of the latter 1260 years, with the downfall of Babylon, the overthrow of the antichristian faction, and the restoration of Judah ¹.

¹ Perhaps, it may be thought, that, in the arrangement of the seven vials, I ought to have placed together, in a single class, the four first vials : on the ground, that, like the four first seals and the four first trumpets, they are characteristically *homogeneous*.

This, had it been necessary, might easily have been done : and, in that case, the four first vials conjointly would give us the complete anticipated history of Revolutionary France, both democratic and imperial, during the season of its triumphant prosperity ; while the succeeding fifth vial would describe the downfall of that remarkable Power or the slaughter of the seventh Roman head by the sword of foreign military violence.

But, on the whole, I have preferred the arrangement here adopted : partly, because the five first vials give the *entire* history of Revolutionary France from beginning to end, which history naturally divides itself into the two periods democratic and imperial ; and, partly, because the *homogeneity* of the four first vials is by no means so strongly marked, as that of either the four first seals or of the four first trumpets.

This last circumstance is the natural consequence of the general character of the vials.

As jointly constituting the third great woe, and as collectively being the seven last plagues, they are generally said to be ALL poured out upon the Roman earth. Rev. xvi. 1. Hence they *all* bear a certain mutual relation to each other : which is not equally the case, either with the septenary of the seals, or with the septenary of the trumpets. The earth, the sea, the rivers, the sun, the throne of the beast, the great river Euphrates, and the air or atmosphere, of this figurative universe, upon which the

several vials are successively poured, are all so many portions of the Roman earth or world or ecumenè; that grand platform, upon which (we are told) the contents of ALL the seven vials are collectively emptied.

I thought it good to notice this circumstance, lest, in my classification of the vials, I should be thought to have departed from that fixed system of *homogeneous* interpretation, which it has throughout been my determinate object steadily to maintain.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE EFFUSION OF THE THREE FIRST VIALS.

THE third woe-trumpet, which comprehends all the seven vials, began to sound in the summer of the year 1789, at the commencement of the infidel Revolution of France¹. Producing much misery to

¹ If we ask the precise day, on which the French Revolution broke out, there are three dates, any one of which may be thought reasonably appropriate.

I. The first of them is May 5, 1789 : when the Estates general of France met at Versailles.

This day is pronounced by Sir Walter Scott to be INDISPUTABLY *the first day of the Revolution*. Life of Napol. chap. iv. vol. i. p. 119.

II. The second is June 17, 1789 : when the third Estate constituted itself into a legislative body, *exclusively* competent to the entire province of legislation.

At this epoch, renouncing the name of *the third Estate* which obviously imported that it was only one out of three bodies, it adopted that of *the National Assembly* ; and thenceforth avowed itself, not merely the third branch of the representative body, but the sole representative of the people of France, nay the people itself wielding in person the whole powers of the realm. It now claimed the character of a constituent body, no longer limited to the task of merely requiring a redress of grievances, for which it had been originally appointed, but warranted to destroy and to rebuild whatever it thought proper in the

the turbulent republicans, it continued to sound, until the effusion of the first vial, uniformly and simply. But, when the first vial began to flow, an extraordinary and marked occurrence took place, which broke the previous uniformity of simple mis-

constitution of the State. Life of Napol. chap. iv. vol. i. p. 131, 132.

III. The third is July 12, 1789: when the populace first broke out into open insurrection, and when (actively at least) the Revolution commenced on the part of the people.

In the course of this day, the royal troops were assaulted by the mob: in the morning of the following day, the alarm bell was rung in all the steeples, and what were called *the colours of liberty* were universally assumed either by choice or through compulsion: in the course of the 14th of July, the Bastille was taken: and, when the messengers of these tidings urged the entire people of France through all the provinces to arm, *symptoms of the rapid decline of setting monarchy*, as the historian truly remarks, *were now abundantly perceived*.

On the night of the 16th, Mr. Gifford proceeds, an universal gloom reigned throughout the immense palace of Versailles. Not a minister remained: and all the princes with their attendants were gone, except Monsieur next brother to the King. The powers, which had hitherto been exercised in the capital by the servants of the government, were now assumed by the mayor and assembly at the town-house: the master of the post-office took an oath of fidelity to THE NATION: patroles marched constantly through the streets: and the inhabitants were obliged to illuminate their houses at a certain hour; so that Paris, for many weeks after the Revolution, exhibited every night the appearance of some extraordinary public rejoicing. Gifford's Hist. of France, vol. v. p. 254—278.

Mr. Gifford details at length the numerous horrors, which so strongly characterised the French Revolution even from its very commencement.

chief: and we shall find, that this vial, with its two successors, delineates the history of Revolutionary France while democratic, as connected with the parallel history of the Western Empire, subsequent to the month of August in the year 1792.

And I saw another sign in heaven great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues: for in them is filled up the wrath of God. And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire, and them that had gotten the victory over the beast and over his image and over his mark and over the number of his name standing on the sea of glass having the harps of God. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God and the song of the Lamb, saying: Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? For thou only art holy. For all nations shall come and worship before thee; because thy judgments are made manifest. And I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels: Go your ways; and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth¹.

The present introductory passage is important, as affording a key to the special drift and purpose of the third woe.

However afflictive the two first woes might be

¹ Rev. xv. 1—4. xvi. 1.

to the inhabitants of the Roman earth, still the Papal little horn was triumphant during the whole term of their continuance: for, in fact, if the five centuries which intervene between the termination of the one and the commencement of the other be taken into the account, these two woes, with that intervening period, stretch over nearly the whole of the latter 1260 years. But the third woe is a peculiar woe to those, who persecuted the saints of God: for the Lord now assumes the penal sovereignty of the Roman world; the judgment now sits to take away the dominion of the little oppressive horn, by consuming and destroying it unto the end.

In pursuance of this grand purpose, which includes other subordinate purposes, we may note, that all the vials are equally said to be poured out upon the earth or Roman platform in general: though a distinction is afterward made between its several component parts, in the operation of particular vials. Thus the first vial is poured out upon the earth or the territorial Empire at large: the second, upon the allegorical sea of that Empire: the third, upon its rivers and fountains: the fourth, upon its sun: the fifth, upon the imperial throne of its then existing head: the sixth, upon the nation typified by its eastern stream the Euphrates: and the seventh, upon its political atmosphere. Yet, generically, all the vials, we are told, are poured out upon the earth: for the Roman platform is the geographical stage of their collective operation.

I. *The first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth : and there fell a noisome and grievous sore, upon the men which had the mark of the beast, even them which worshipped his image*¹.

In a théological sense, ill-digested and virulent humours in the body politic denote various modes and measures of irreligion and apostasy, working and fermenting throughout the frame which they afflict. The breaking out of such humours in the natural body produces an offensive and disgusting ulcer, no longer concealed beneath the skin, but open and revealed to the eye of observation. Hence; analogically, a noisome and grievous sore in the body politic, being similarly produced by the eruption of long-fermenting virulent humours, must denote the open display of those concocted principles of irreligion which have hitherto fluctuated in an undefined and impalpable form. In short, virulent humours are irreligion in a state of preparative theory : while the noisome sore, produced by the eruption of those humours, is irreligion in a state of open and undisguised and avowed practice².

These allegorical humours were fermenting within the Church, even during the apostolic age : for St. John complains, that, at that early period, there were many individual antichrists ; and remarks, that the spirit of Antichrist, which he defines to be *a denial of the Father and the Son*, was then

¹ Rev. xvi. 2.

² See above book i. chap. 1. § 1. 3.

working¹. But such humours dissipated themselves, without producing any very extensive or lasting effects: and soundness of faith, at least with respect to the Father and the Son, characterised the Church even through the darkest ages of apostatic superstition. Soon, however, after the passing away of the second woe in the year 1697, the noxious humour of Infidelity began to ferment in a manner hitherto unknown. Arianism and Socinianism, Deism and Atheism, were propagated with art and zeal and confidence. The writings of the orthodox clergy of the day furnish abundant proofs, if proofs be wanted, of the existence of such a spirit: and the faithful ministers of God, while they were combating the revived errors of Arius and Socinus, were often called away to defend the very foundations of Christianity against the deist; and, ere this matter had been well accomplished, they found with surprize, that the first principle of natural religion itself was controverted by the more daring atheist. As the eighteenth century advanced, a regular system of irreligion was excogitated and diffused, with wonderful art and activity and success, by Voltaire and his numerous associates. The poisonous humour spread itself far and wide throughout the Roman Empire, extending also into those kingdoms which never formed a part of that Empire. By degrees, the members of the antichristian association got possession of nearly all the reviews

¹ 1 John ii. 18, 19, 22, 23. iv. 2, 3.

and periodical publications, established a general intercourse with distant provinces, instituted an office to supply all schools with teachers, and thus acquired an unprecedented dominion over the public mind without giving alarm to the world by any overt and tangible and visible action. Such was their success, that, in the year 1773, they boasted, that in Russia the new philosophy was protected by the reigning Empress; that the defenders of religion were at their last gasp in Poland, and that they were already overthrown in Prussia through the care of Frederic; that, in the north of Germany the enemies of Christianity were daily gaining ground; that, in Spain, they were undermining the Inquisition and operating a great revolution in ideas; that they were successfully labouring in Italy; that they were penetrating into Bohemia and Austria; that, in Paris, they could reckon numerous philosophers behind the counter; that they had completely made Geneva their own; and that England and Switzerland were overrun with men, who hated and despised Christianity as Julian hated and despised it¹.

When the humour had spread thus extensively, we shall not wonder, that it soon broke out into a noisome and grievous sore. Weary of mere theory, the new philosophers longed to see their principles reduced to practice. The French Revolution, which commenced with the earliest blast of the third woe-

¹ See above book iii. chap. 4. § III. 4.

trumpet in the year 1789, soon led to the consummation so devoutly wished for. On the memorable 26th of August in the year 1792, an open profession of atheism and irreligion and infidelity was made, and forthwith acted upon, by a whole nation once zealously devoted to the papal superstition : Christianity was then formally abolished, as a notorious and malignant imposture, by the governors of Revolutionary France : and so well did the people second them, that, while not a trace of the Gospel could be found throughout the reprobate metropolis, every frantic oration in praise of atheism was loudly and enthusiastically applauded.

Nor was the open avowal of such principles confined to France. All Europe seemed to have drunk deep of the cup of trembling. At this period, in consequence of the success of the infidel Revolution, corresponding societies and atheistical clubs were every where held fearlessly and undisguisedly. The cloak of concealment was thrown off : and thousands within the predicted limits of the Roman earth, not to mention thousands also whose countries were situated without those limits, scrupled not openly to avow themselves either atheists or infidels. At this period, moreover, the project of converting all the kingdoms of Europe into irreligious republics, framed after the model of the misshapen democracy of France, was unreservedly and triumphantly avowed by infidel demagogues : and the plan was loudly and incessantly applauded by

the infatuated populace throughout the whole Roman Empire.

When all these extraordinary signs of the times concurred together, when the poisonous humours were now perfectly concocted ; then it was, that the noisome and grievous sore broke out, upon the men which had the mark of the beast, even upon them which worshipped his image. The spirit of Antichrist had long been working in the children of disobedience : but, in the face of the whole world, his principles were now publicly developed. Hence, as all the prophetic periods of the Apocalypse are to be reckoned, not from the secret cogitations of the heart which are known only to the Almighty, but from some overt and prominent display of those cogitations reduced to actual practice and manifested to the eyes of all men : I cannot hesitate to ascribe the effusion of the first vial to the 26th of August in the year 1792 ; on which day, Infidelity was for the first time formally established by law, or (in the figurative language of the prophecy) on which day a noisome and grievous sore broke out upon those who were recently the zealous adherents of the great demonolatrous Apostasy.

II. *And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea : and it became as the blood of a dead man ; and every living soul died in the sea*¹.

All the vials are generally said to be poured upon the earth or the geographical platform of the Roman Empire: but, with the exception of the first, they are severally poured, with certain specific limitations, upon the various component parts of the Roman world. In pursuance of this plan, the second vial is poured upon that portion of the Roman world, which in the prophecy is described as being its figurative sea: and, agreeably to its allotted sphere of operation, it affects no other part of the Roman earth or platform.

In the abstract, the sea denotes a nation or nations in a restless condition of tumult or war or revolution¹. Hence, in the concrete, it will denote any nation so circumstanced which may happen to be the subject of any particular prophecy. Now the vision of the seven vials respects the earth or the Roman Empire: consequently, the sea, which is affected by the second vial, must be the sea of that figurative earth. But the sea, as contradistinguished from lakes and rivers and fountains, is the largest body of waters which appertains to the earth: and we are assured, that, by waters, we are to understand peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues². Therefore the figurative sea, which appertains to the Roman earth, must denote the largest nation or kingdom of the now divided Roman Empire: and, since that nation is studiously

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.)

² Rev. xvii. 15.

symbolised by the sea rather than by a large lake or river, the idea of tumult or war or revolution will be superadded to that of preëminence in magnitude. Such being the case, the sea in the present vision must shadow out the largest kingdom of the now divided Roman Empire as existing in a state of violent effervescence or revolution.

With this character, France alone can be made to correspond at the chronological epoch of the vision. For, at the commencement of the third woe-trumpet which comprehends all the seven vials, the French Revolution, in the year 1789, occurred. Therefore the sea must denote the largest kingdom of the now divided Empire in a revolutionary state subsequent to the year 1789. But, to this character, no Roman kingdom, save France, will be found to answer. Therefore we are doubly compelled, both by chronology and by geography, to pronounce the sea of the present vision to be the symbol of Revolutionary France.

Upon the kingdom of France, then, while in a state of revolution and tumult and anarchy, the second vial is poured out : and, forthwith, its allegorical waters become like the clotted gore of a murdered man ; for, by a bold hyperbolè, every living soul is said to perish within it.

The phrensied Revolution of France was stained, from the very first, with bloodshed and murder : but the imagery of the second vial plainly represents a period of extraordinary and preëminent slaughter ; and that vial of course begins to be

poured out at the commencement of such a period. To ascertain, therefore, the point of time, when the second vial begins to be poured upon Revolutionary France, we must ascertain the commencement of the period thus terribly distinguished. Now the first vial, unless my arrangement of it be altogether erroneous, began to flow on the 26th of August in the year 1792. Consequently, the blood-stained period of the second vial must commence *after* that memorable day.

With this chronological notation, the period, usually denominated *the reign of terror*, will be found exactly to agree. The dreadful work of systematic death and proscription commenced on the 2d of September in the year 1792: and, during the entire period of which I am treating, the revolutionary tribunal added daily new victims to the thousands who had perished at its abundantly marked commencement. Here the mockery of justice was complete: for, in the condemnation of the accused, the mere internal conviction of a packed jury, without the slightest examination of witnesses or inquiry into facts, was declared sufficient to establish guilt. As for the glorious privilege of extending mercy to the condemned, it was contemptuously disclaimed: and all applications for pardon were rejected with the brutal declaration, that the government of Republican France possessed no such power. It was esteemed a sufficient crime to be suspected of being a suspicious person: and this

crime was visited by the only punishment recognised by the Republic, the punishment of death; for the humane and enlightened philosophers, who in the plenitude of their wisdom had rejected Christianity and denied the existence of a God, wrote, like Draco, all their laws in human blood. France was converted into one vast Aceldama: or, to use the strong language of prophecy, the troubled sea of the Roman earth became as the blood of a dead man; and every living soul died within its ample compass.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew, an event that filled all Europe with consternation, the infamy and horrors of which have been dwelt upon by so many eloquent writers of all religions and which has held up Charles IX to the execration of ages, dwindles into child's play, when compared to the present murderous Revolution, which a late writer in France emphatically calls a St. Bartholomew of five years. According to M. Bossuet, there were about 30,000 persons murdered in ALL France on that day: there have been more than that number murdered in the SINGLE CITY of Lyons and its neighbourhood; while, at Nantz, there have been 27,000; at Paris, 150,000; in la Vendee, 300,000. It appears, in short, that there have been two millions of persons murdered in France, since it has styled itself a Republic: among whom are reckoned 250,000 women; 230,000 children, beside

*those murdered in the womb ; and 24,000 Christian priests*¹.

Thus, I think, we have sufficient ground for placing the commencement of the second vial on the 2d of September in the year 1792.*

III. *And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters : and they became blood. And I heard the angel of the waters say : Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art and wast and shall be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets : and thou hast given them blood to drink ; for they are worthy. And I heard another from the altar say : Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments*².

It must not be forgotten, that the general platform, upon which all the vials are poured out, is the earth or the Roman Empire : the rivers, therefore, and fountains, affected by the third vial, are the figurative rivers and fountains of that Empire ; as the sea, affected by the second vial, was its figurative sea. Now, in the abstract, rivers and fountains mean kingdoms and communities³ : whence, in the concrete, the rivers and fountains of the Roman earth will denote the kingdoms and communities of the now divided Roman Empire. The sea, however, or the largest body of allegorical

¹ Gifford's Banditti unmasked.

² Rev. xvi. 4—7.

³ See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 1. (1.)

waters belonging to that Empire, has already been applied to France, as involving the two preëminent ideas of magnitude and revolutionary tumult. Consequently, the rivers with their fountains will import all the remaining smaller States of the Roman Empire; the chief river of each country being the symbol of the country through which it flows: as the Danube, of Austria; the Tiber, of Italy; the Tagus, of Spain or Portugal; the Po, of Lombardy; the Nile, of Egypt; and the Euphrates, of Turkey.

The prophecy, therefore, declares, that, by the violence and carnage of some unusually murderous and protracted and peculiar warfare, these allegorical rivers or literal States of the Roman Empire should be changed into streams of blood.

With this description, the tremendous and bloody wars, consequent upon the French Revolution, minutely correspond. On the 20th of April in the year 1792, France declared war against Austria; and, not long afterward, against Prussia also: but, whatever jealousies might prevail throughout the European kingdoms, no act then took place of a sufficiently definite and peculiar nature to mark so extraordinary an epoch as the commencement of the third apocalyptic vial. The war in question might probably have begun and ended like the numerous vulgar wars, which preceded it and which are deemed unworthy of prophetic notice, if the violence of the republican faction had not made it assume a special and distinctive character. On the 19th of November in the year 1792, a decree of fraternity and military assistance to all, who were

willing to rise in rebellion against their lawful governments, was passed by the French Convention : and this decree was ordered to be translated into every language, as the manifesto of all nations against kings. It was soon after followed, on the 15th of December, by another decree ; which ordained, that, without the slightest regard to the wishes of the conquered, the French political system should be extended to every country occupied by their armies. Hitherto, France was only partially and vulgarly at war with one or two Powers : but edicts of such a nature, which wantonly attacked every existing government whether pacific or hostile, were in fact a declaration of war against the whole civilised world. Hence they may justly be viewed, as marking the commencement of a new and extraordinary period of military violence ; a period, altogether dissimilar to any preceding period of common warfare, both in character and principle and political results. France had set her hand against every man : and, therefore, every man's hand was speedily raised against France. The war, which now commenced, unlike the comparative tameness of those struggles which had heretofore agitated Europe, was, strictly and emphatically, a war of principles and opinions.

On such grounds, then, I suppose the third vial to have begun to flow on the 19th of November in the year 1792 : and the effects of its baleful stream were soon visible. From that epoch down to the

18th of June in the year 1815, a period of almost twenty three years, a war raged throughout the Roman Empire, unexampled in fury and bloodshed and desolation and extènt. The whole European Commonwealth received a shock : ancient landmarks, which had stood for ages, were removed : and a horde of infuriated military barbarians, eager to ravage and plunder and desolate and tyrannise, was let loose upon the fairest provinces of the Roman earth. In consequence of this long-protracted and widely-extended scene of warfare, all the rivers of the Roman territorial platform were changed into blood : and many other allegorical streams, which had never been comprehended within its limits, felt likewise the baneful effects of the third vial. Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Savoy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey in her Roman provinces of Syria and Egypt, may all, in the strong language of prophecy, be said to have successively become a mass of gore, by becoming successively the seats of perhaps the most bloody and destructive war that ever raged. These are the countries, specially intended by the figurative rivers and fountains ; because they are all, more or less perfectly, included within the limits of the Roman Empire : but, out of that Empire, the pest additionally spread itself over all Germany and Prussia and Poland, penetrating even into the remote monarchy of Russia. In short, we may affirm, that almost every part of the Roman platform, with the exception of protestant and maritime

England, has been made the seat of war, and has thence been drenched with the blood of its inhabitants.

The latter part of the present oracle declares, that the whole of the dreadful carnage, produced both by the second and by the third vial, is to be esteemed *judicial*. This circumstance both definitely fixes the septenary of the vials to the period of the third woe-trumpet, on that principle of synchronisation which ought never to be forgotten¹: and likewise, as I have already observed, explains to us the nature of the third woe itself. God has now taken to himself the penal sovereignty of the Roman world: and, since nations can only be nationally punished in the present state of existence, he has begun, judicially to destroy the destroyers of the earth, and to punish the murderous guilt both of Papists and of Mohammedans in their shedding the blood of the saints like water. In this guilt, however, the Papists have been preëminent: retaliation, therefore, has dogged them more distinctly and more conspicuously. The angel of the waters, like the fabled Tomyris, has compelled them, in *their* turn, to drink deep of blood: for truly they are worthy. Long has the mystic harlot

¹ The characteristic of the third woe is, that the spiritually dead should be *judged*: the characteristic of the third vial is, that the Lord has *judged* the persecutors of his saints. Compare Rev. xi. 18. xvi. 5. Therefore, the action being identical, the times of the third vial must coincide with and be included within the times of the third woe.

been even *drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus* : but the time has now arrived, though the hour of vengeance may seem to have tarried, when her apostate secular adherents, those tools and engines of her protracted tyranny and persecution, have again been made drunken with their own blood, as they were heretofore drunken with the blood of Christ's faithful witnesses. The key to the whole mystery, which, during the effusion of the third vial, baffled the hopes and calculations of the most experienced statesmen and warriors, is unreservedly afforded to us in a single sentence of Holy Writ : *They have shed the blood of saints and of prophets : and thou hast given them blood to drink ; for they are worthy.*

IV. Thus, unless I be wholly mistaken, the three first vials respectively began to flow, on the 26th of August, the 2d of September, and the 19th of November, in the year 1792. Whence it will follow, that, although they *commenced* successively ; yet, the period of the one not having expired before the period of the other began, they were all three flowing *at the same time* with portentous rapidity and effect.

With this circumstance, matter of fact perfectly accords : for, during one and the same season of unexampled misery, atheism and infidelity boldly displayed themselves in every part of Europe, France was changed into a vast slaughter-house by the frantic and murderous rage of intestine violence,

and the several kingdoms of the divided Roman Empire became the seat of a war characterised at once by the most ferocious carnage and by the most disorganising principles.

1. As for the termination of these three vials, I believe, that the first has not even yet emptied itself: for I apprehend, that it is still flowing, and will continue to flow, with a current more or less strong, to the very end of the third woe-trumpet.

The spirit or principle of the third woe is Infidelity, as the spirit or principle of the two former woes was Mohammedism. Consequently, since the first vial openly develops the principle of Infidelity, and since that principle extends through the entire period of the third woe; it seems natural to conclude, that the first vial will continue to flow even down to the very time, when the antichristian faction will be finally destroyed, and when the spirit of Antichrist (as St. John denominates the principle of Infidelity) will at length evaporate. At present, the first vial is flowing with a more scanty and penurious stream; for the infidel principle has doubtless received a very considerable check: but still it *does* flow; and, in more than a single case of recent notoriety even in this favoured country, we may distinctly mark its current. There seems, in fact, even now to be carrying on a very extraordinary struggle between the powers of light and the powers of darkness. On the one side, we behold a strenuous attempt to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity through every part of the globe and

to meliorate the condition of man by meliorating his principles : while, on the other side, we occasionally behold a strange hostility to revelation, not only displayed in certain popular productions, but loudly applauded by the mob of the metropolis when a public opportunity has been afforded them of expressing their sentiments. If such be the case in England, we have reason enough to fear, that the spirit of Antichrist is very far indeed from being extinct on the continent. The noisome and grievous sore may be skinned over ; and, through the circumstance of its being falsely healed, it may present a fair outward appearance : but the virus yet remains undischarged, and occasionally shews itself by actual eruption ¹.

2. We have reason, then, to fear, that the first vial is not yet exhausted ; for it is a vial, which respects the development of a *principle* : the second, on the contrary, which respects a particular course of *action* in a single particular country, has certainly ceased to flow. Its peculiar period commenced, as we have seen, on the 2d of September in the year 1792 : and it obviously terminated with the expiration of what was emphatically called *the reign of terror*.

3. The contents of the third vial, likewise, are now exhausted : for the revolutionary war, to which it relates, was concluded in the year 1815 ; whence,

¹ Οἶον ἄρα με

Κάλλος κακῶν ὑπολυσιν ἐξεθρέψατε.

of course, the period of the third vial terminated at the same epoch also. Ordinary wars may, or may not, again occur, before the last predicted dreadful war of principles and opinions: but ordinary wars come not within the scope of prophecy. The special subject of the third vial is the war carried on by Revolutionary France, whether democratic or imperial, against the liberty and independence of Europe: and that war, characteristically distinguished from all other common wars, was finally brought to a close in the year 1815.

CHAPTER V.

RESPECTING THE EFFUSION OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH
VIALS.

THE three first vials, then, eminently relate to the exploits of Revolutionary France while republican, though two out of the number extend beyond the period allotted to the democracy. Hence, the fourth and fifth vials, which chronologically succeed them, must describe the leading events that come next in order to the dissolution of the republican government. Now the marked period, allotted to Revolutionary France while democratical, was followed by another equally marked period, which was allotted to Revolutionary France while imperial. The presumption, therefore, is, if I have been at all successful in the arrangement of the three first vials, that their two successors relate to this second marked period of the last woe. I apply them, accordingly, to the history of Revolutionary France while imperial; that history, however, like the history of Revolutionary France while democratic, being connected inseparably with the general history of the figurative earth or the Roman Empire. Now the history of Revolutionary France while imperial is, in fact, the history of the secular apoca-

lyptic beast under his seventh short-lived and sword-slain head : for, as we have already seen, the seventh distinct head of the Roman beast, which in the time of St. John was future, is the Francic Emperorship which began and ended under one extraordinary individual. Such being the case, the fourth and fifth vials give us the anticipated history of the rise and dominance and fall of that portentous meteor, the Francic Emperorship.

I. And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun : and power was given unto it to scorch men with fire. And men were scorched with great heat : and they blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues ; and they repented not, to give him glory¹

As all the vials are equally poured out upon the earth or the Roman platform in general, the sun, affected by the fourth vial, must of course be the allegorical sun of the Roman Empire. Now, in the abstract, the sun, when interpreted temporally, denotes the supreme governing power in any Empire or Kingdom². Hence, in the concrete, the sun, when introduced into a prophecy which professedly treats of the earth or the Roman Empire, must denote the supreme governing power of that Empire : or, in other words, if the symbol be changed to that of a wild-beast as in the succeeding oracle of the fifth vial, the existing sun of the Ro-

¹ Rev. xvi. 8, 9.

² See above book i. chap. I. § II. 1. (1.)

man earth will be exactly equivalent to the existing head of the Roman beast. The hieroglyphical picture, therefore, exhibited to us on the effusion of the fourth vial, does in effect describe the then existing head of the Roman Empire, as scorching with an intolerable blaze the men who were within the sphere of its influence: while the consequence of this intense allegorical fervour is, not repentance and amendment, but a determined perseverance in blasphemy.

Nothing can be more certain, than that no such character can be ascribed to the declining and debilitated first head, or the Regal Emperorship of the Romans, at any time subsequent to the termination of the French Democracy. Hence it is clear, that the first head or the Regal Emperorship of the Romans, which fell on the 7th of August in the year 1806, cannot be meant by the scorching sun of the Roman world which makes so destructively conspicuous a figure during the effusion of the fourth vial. Neither, again, can this scorching sun be identified with some one of those five heads, which arose indeed subsequently to the Regal Emperorship of the Romans, though they severally became extinct before it: because, as we are expressly assured by the interpreting angel, all those five heads had already fallen even at the time when St. John beheld the visions of the Apocalypse ¹. Therefore, since the scorching sun of the fourth

¹ Rev. xvii. 10.

vial cannot mean any one of the six first heads of the Roman beast, it can only mean the seventh head or the short-lived Francic Emperorship: and, accordingly, with *that* head it perfectly accords, both characteristically and chronologically.

As the natural sun appears to rise out of the ocean: so did this allegorical sun of the Roman world rise out of that turbid sea of revolutionary bloodshed, which forms the subject of the second vial. Its influence, therefore, as might well be anticipated, was not benign and kindly. Instead of cherishing and fructifying its subject earth with a salutary and genial warmth, it scorched it with all the fury of an intolerable military despotism: even as the literal sun parches the arid central desert of the African continent. The Empire of Napoleon, himself the sole representative of the seventh Roman head, springing as it did out of the French Revolution, soon comprehended within its ample limits, either by direct or by feudal government, the whole Western Empire except the Kingdom of England. By military violence, the ancient Latin Empire was again united under a single real and effective head, which bore the completely new official title of *the Francic Emperorship*: and, by military violence, all its inhabitants were still vehemently scorched under the rule of their arbitrary sovereign, in order that they might thus be made subservient to the promotion of his yet unaccomplished ambitious purposes. The arts of peace were disregarded and despised: the science

of war alone was encouraged and cultivated. Every man, capable of bearing arms, was compelled to become a soldier : and the natives of each subjugated country were torn from the bosom of their families, and were tyrannically dragged into the field, that they might engage in quarrels wherein they had no interest, and that they might shed their blood for the mere purpose of aggrandising an unprincipled adventurer. Thus, for a considerable season, were the scorching rays of military despotism felt throughout France and Holland and Germany and Switzerland and Italy and Spain and Portugal : thus, to gratify the selfish ambition of a single cold-hearted individual, decorated with the new title of *Emperor of the French* and yet the sovereign of Rome and Italy, did the Western Roman Empire groan under the weight of endless requisitions and levies and conscriptions and extortions.

With respect to the chronological arrangement of the fourth vial, succeeding as it does the three first vials in point of commencement, it must also succeed the period allotted to Revolutionary France while in its democratic state : and, treating as it does of the history of the seventh Roman head, it cannot have begun to flow prior to the rise of that head. Hence, in stating the epoch when the seventh Roman head arose, we shall also state the epoch when the fourth vial began to be poured out.

Now the rise of that head may be ascribed, either to the year 1802, or to the year 1804 ; according

as we are disposed to view the allegorical sun, struggling to emerge from the bed of the sea, or actually risen above its waves: the latter, however, ought most probably to be assumed as the true date, and consequently as the true date of the incipient effusion of the fourth vial.

It was on the 4th of August in the year 1802, that the modern sun of the Roman world began to rise dim and misty and obscure from the revolutionary sea of France: for then it was, that a fortunate military adventurer became the Lord of the Western Empire by receiving the investiture of the First-Consulship, not as a temporary office, but during the term of his natural life. By this political arrangement, he became a sovereign prince; the prince, too, of all the dominions annexed to the French Republic: but, as yet, he was a prince of a dubious and equivocal description. Monarchs, indeed, were perplexed with fear of change: yet the newly-risen sun of the Roman world looked for a season, shorn of his beams, through the misty horizontal air.

But, from this doubtful and hazy condition, the young luminary, as he rapidly mounted toward the zenith, soon and completely emerged. In the May of the year 1804, the ambiguous First-Consul was proclaimed Emperor of the French: and the now fully developed Roman sun, being sprinkled with the dire contents of the fourth vial, blazed, with a scorching and ominous lustre, upon the parched and prostrate surface of the allegorical earth.

The men, who were thus scorched, we are told, blasphemed the name of God, and repented not to give him glory.

Accordingly, during the whole period of the sun's blazing influence, no signs of repentance could be observed to follow. The blasphemy or apostasy, both of Latin Demonolatry and of Atheistic Infidelity, still prevailed : and the men of the Roman world either laid to their souls the flattering unctiousness of an unscriptural superstition, or stood up in open defiance against the Lord and against his Christ.

II. *And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the throne of the beast : and his kingdom became full of darkness ; and they gnawed their tongues for pain, and blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds*¹.

The fourth vial describes the rise and dominance of the Francic Emperors : the fifth vial exhibits its downfall, and sets forth the consequences which result from that catastrophe.

1. In the poetical machinery, with which the prophet has decorated the oracle of the fifth vial, we cannot but observe a curious variation from that which was last employed, yet a variation replete with divine art and contrivance.

Under the influence of the fourth vial, the sun of the Roman world scorches the subject earth with

¹ Rev. xvi. 10, 11.

an intolerable fervour : under the influence of the fifth vial, the throne of the Roman beast is assailed, and his kingdom is filled with darkness. Two different sets of symbols, then, are used, in treating of the two successive portions of one remarkable period ; the period, namely, which is allotted to Revolutionary France while imperial : and yet they are so managed, that, while the beauty of picturesque variety is preserved, all the closeness of a strict connection is fully maintained. The beast, whose throne is attacked under the fifth vial, is obviously the secular beast or the temporal Roman Empire : for it is to this beast alone, that a royal chair or throne is ascribed ¹. But the chronological epoch, to which we have now been brought in regular succession, demonstrates, that the beast, here spoken of, must be the Roman beast under his seventh head or (in other words) the Roman Empire under the Francic Emperors. Now we have seen, that to this Francic Emperors alone the character of the scorching sun of the fourth vial can be deemed applicable : and we have afterward found, that, in consistence with the chronological chain of events, this same Francic Emperors or the seventh head of the Roman beast can alone be the existing head of the beast at the time when his throne is exposed to the influence of the fifth vial. Hence it is clear, that the varied fortunes of the same Power are described under two

¹ Compare Rev. xvi. 10 with xiii. 2.

different sets of symbols : and hence it is shewn, that the wild-beast of the fifth vial stands immediately and inseparably connected with the sun of the fourth. For, as I have already observed, if we inquire into the natural economy of the two successive hieroglyphics which St. John has employed to picture the short-reign of the Francic Emperorship, we shall find, that the sun bears exactly the same relation to the world as the head of an animal bears to its body. When the Roman Empire is symbolised by the earth, its existing supreme form of government is the sun : when the same Empire is symbolised by a wild-beast, its existing supreme form of government is the head of that beast. The sun, therefore, of the fourth vial is the very same Power, as the head of the wild-beast which appears under the fifth vial. Whence, in the language of symbols, *the scorching heat of the sun* is precisely equivalent to *the tyrannical rampancy of the wild-beast under his existing head* : and, conversely, *the dethronement of the wild-beast and the filling of his kingdom with darkness* is exactly equivalent, in case the other set of symbols had been employed, to *the smiting and blackening and falling from heaven of the solar orb*. Thus, had the prophet chosen to employ the same machinery both in the oracle of the fourth and in the oracle of the fifth vial, he might either have said, that, under the fourth vial, the sun scorched men with fire ; but that, under the fifth vial, it was darkened and fell from heaven : or he might have said, that, under

the fourth vial, the seventh head of the beast arose and spake great things with its mouth ; but that, under the fifth vial, a baleful stream descended upon the throne of the beast and filled his whole kingdom with darkness. In each case, the import of the two oracles would be precisely the same : in each case, the fourth vial would predict the military dominance and tyranny of the Roman Empire under its then existing head ; while the fifth vial would predict a formidable and successful attack upon that Empire still under its then existing head, which attack should issue in the dethronement of the head and in the subversion of the Empire.

2. This matter being abundantly clear, we have only to ascertain the then existing head of the Empire by a recurrence to the chronological epoch of the prophecy : and the whole will stand self-applied and self-explained.

Now we have seen, that, by the sun of the fourth vial, can only be meant the Francic Emperorship or the seventh head of the Roman beast. But the seventh head of the beast is his last head. Therefore the seventh head or the Francic Emperorship must be the existing head of the Roman beast, at the time when the fifth vial is poured out. Hence it will follow, that, as the oracle of the fourth vial described the military tyranny of the Roman Empire under its seventh head, the Francic Emperorship : so the oracle of the fifth vial must describe the dethronement of that same head, and the consequent deathlike or dark political state of the

Empire (*as an Empire*) over which it recently presided.

From this statement it appears, that these two successive oracles set forth the rise of the short-lived seventh head of the Roman beast and its subsequent destruction by the sword. Each of these particulars is mentioned by St. John, both in his description of the hieroglyphic, and in the explanation of that hieroglyphic which is given by the interpreting angel: but nothing specific is there said, as to their chronology; we are simply told, that, in the time of the Apostle, the seventh head was as yet future¹. The defect is now supplied: and the two particulars are referred to their proper chronological place; namely, the season of the third great woe in general, and the fourth and fifth periods of that season in particular.

3. We recently beheld, under the image of a scorching sun, the Francic Emperorship or the seventh Roman head successful and triumphant: we must now turn our eyes to one of the most memorable reverses, that the world ever witnessed.

The fifth vial is poured out upon the throne of the Roman beast, while existing under his seventh short-lived head: and the consequence is, that his whole kingdom is filled with darkness.

It is not difficult to ascertain the abstract meaning of this hieroglyphical prediction: and its actual accomplishment has now rendered the application and exposition of it perfectly easy.

¹ Rev. xiii. 3. xvii. 10.

(1.) With respect to the abstract meaning of the prophecy, if we translate it from symbolical into verbal language, it will plainly enough speak to the following effect.

The *throne* of the Roman beast while existing under his seventh head, which head events have proved to be the Francic Emperors, will be violently attacked : and the attack will be crowned with complete success ; for, in consequence of it, the whole bestial *kingdom* will be involved in the darkness of political death, and the military adherents of the *throne* will be inflamed with rage on account of the eminent calamity sustained by that *throne*. Still, however, no signs of repentance and amendment will appear.

(2.) Such is clearly enough the abstract meaning of the hieroglyphical prediction : and its accurate accomplishment, in a recent series of events, has removed every difficulty in the application of it.

The fifth vial began to flow in the summer of the year 1808 : for then it was, that the *throne* of the Roman beast was first avowedly and directly attacked ; then it was, that the period of his most extraordinary and unexpected reverses commenced. At this time, the whole Spanish nation, irritated by fraud and oppression and insult, rose as one man ; and, in singular harmony with those terms of the prediction which form its leading characteristic, struck directly at the *throne* of the wild-beast, by declaring its seventh head or the Franco-Imperial

government of Napoleon to be a tyrannical usurpation.

As yet, however, the stream flowed with comparative penuriousness; and the *throne*, at all events, seemed perfectly safe: baffled in Spain, the seventh head was, nevertheless, eminently successful in Germany: the vial had merely commenced. But its baleful effects soon began to be felt by France upon a larger scale. The autumn of the year 1812 was marked by Buonapartè's frantic attack upon Russia. Of his vast armament, not a tithe returned to tell the tale of destruction. The campaign of the year 1813 was distinguished by his complete defeat before Leipsic, his loss of the whole of Germany, and his disgraceful flight across the Rhine. Portentous was the rapidity, with which the vial now flowed: but even yet its stream, though copious, was not at the full. In the spring of the year 1814, the allies occupied Paris: and, as the characteristic mark of the fifth vial is, that it should be poured out upon the *throne* of the wild-beast; so, in exact accordance with the prophecy, the sovereigns declared that they would treat neither with Buonapartè nor with any member of his family, and commanded the vanquished French Senate to call another prince to the throne. Their mandate was obeyed: Napoleon was compelled to abdicate: and the ancient dynasty was restored.

But, notwithstanding these disasters, the seventh head continued to exist: though the sword had been raised against it, yet, hitherto, it had not been

absolutely slain. Napoleon, driven as he was from France and Italy, was yet neither stripped of all his dominions, nor was he compelled to resign his imperial dignity. As the first Roman head, in its earlier western branch, was not less the first head in the estimation of prophecy, when confined during the short reign of Augustulus to the limits of Rome; and as the same first head, in its middle eastern branch, was not less the first head in the estimation of prophecy, when confined during the reign of the last Constantine to the walls of Byzantium: so neither did the seventh head cease to be the seventh head, when its actual dominions were contracted within the narrow space of a small island. The allies not only suffered the tyger to escape from the toils: but, even in the hour of adversity, they recognised his imperial title, though they confined his sovereignty to the isle of Elba. Hence, Napoleon, in his insular principality, did not less represent the seventh head of the Roman beast, than the same Napoleon when lording it over the whole Western Empire. The time was not yet arrived for the political slaughter of that head by the sword: though the stream of the fifth vial was rapidly descending upon its throne.

This destined time, however, was not far distant. Early in the year 1815, the Emperor Napoleon, with a handful of followers, landed on the southern coast of France; and, rapidly advancing to Paris, instantaneously expelled the newly restored Bourbons. But the deadly contents of the fifth vial were

not yet exhausted : and the momentary elevation of Napoleon served only to make his final overthrow the more conspicuous. Europe was forthwith in arms : and the *principle* of her warfare ceased not to be the identical principle, which in the year 1808 was first openly avowed by Spain, and which had been so exactly described by the voice of inspiration. The characteristic badge of the fifth vial is *an attack upon the THRONE of the wild-beast* : and the wild-beast was then existing under his seventh head or the Francic Emperorship. Now the undisguised principle, on which the allies embarked in their final war against Napoleon, was no other than the characteristic badge of the fifth vial. They did not fight, to restrain the French Emperor within reasonable bounds : but they avowedly fought, to dethrone him. Without the least reserve they declared, that their principle in the year 1815 was the very same, as their principle in the year 1814 : in other words, they unequivocally declared, that *they fought exclusively against the THRONE of Napoleon*. Success attended their effort ; because prophecy had foretold, respecting the seventh form of Roman government, that, *when it cometh, it must continue a SHORT space* : but it was the high will of heaven, that the avenging sword of political death should be wielded by the hand of protestant England. On the 18th of June in the year 1815, the seventh head received its predicted deadly wound by the sword : and its *short space of continuance* ran out, when it

immediately afterward expired, in consequence of the formal abolition of its official title and the annihilation even of its shadow of effective sovereignty.

* Thus, agreeably to the oracle of the fifth vial, was the THRONE of the Roman beast overturned; an expression of deep import, because, from the days of Romulus down to the fight of Waterloo, the Roman beast, under one or other of his seven heads, had never been *without* a throne. But, when the seventh and last head was mortally wounded without the pullulation of a successor; then the long-established THRONE of the Roman Empire was of necessity subverted, and the now headstricken and throneless Empire itself sank into a state of political death or non-existence. This circumstance, accordingly, is described in the symbol, by the imagery of *the death of the Roman beast*; and, in the angel's interpretation of the symbol, by the phrase of *his no longer being* or of *his ceasing to exist*. *The beast WAS, and IS NOT* ¹.

4. Yet, though the *throne* of the beast was overturned, and though he himself was politically slain as an Empire by the mortal wound inflicted upon his last head; still his huge trunk remained geographically, where it had ever been: the bare territorial *kingdom* continued, though its seven paramount forms of government had now successively fallen.

¹ Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14. xvii. 8, 10, 11.

Accordingly, we read, in the present oracle, that the *Platform* or *Kingdom* of the Roman beast still remained, even *after* the fifth vial had done its work of destruction upon his *throne*; but that, although it remained territorially or geographically, it was full of darkness.

This imagery describes the political condition of the Roman Empire, subsequent to the subversion of its imperial throne.

In the hieroglyphic, the wild-beast, agreeably to the requisition of zoölogical decorum, sinks, by the slaughter of his seventh and last head, into a state of death: and, in the angel's verbal exposition, the Empire, represented by the wild-beast, sinks into a state of political non-existence, when, by the fall of its short-lived seventh form of government, it ceased to have any one acknowledged supreme governor. Such being the case, *the DARKNESS of the bestial kingdom after the subversion of its throne* plainly corresponds, with *the DEATH of the beast after the excision of his seventh head*, and with *the POLITICAL NON-EXISTENCE of the Empire after the downfall of its seventh form of government*. I need scarcely remark, that this metaphorical phraseology is familiar to perhaps every nation in the world: but, what is of more immediate importance to our present purpose, *death*, in the ordinary language of Scripture, is always described as a condition of palpable *darkness*. The continuance, therefore, of the *deathlike darkness*, foretold in the oracle of the fifth vial, is the same chronological period, as

the term of the *death* of the beast and the term of the *political non-existence* of the Empire. • *Geographically*, the throneless kingdom and the dead trunk of the beast still remain during this period : but, *politically*, the Empire, *as* an Empire, loses its existence ; for the Roman Empire, *as* an Empire, is no more.

5. In the midst of this very remarkable period of *the non-entity of the Roman Empire* we are now living¹ : and, since the effusion of the fifth vial is to produce the *deathlike darkness* of the still geographically remaining kingdom or trunk of the beast, we may be sure that its contents will not be completely exhausted, until that *darkness of death* shall have passed away, or (in other words) until the wild-beast be restored to *life* by the predicted rise of the eighth form of Roman government which is to be one of the preceding seven raised anew to the functions of vitality.

This being the case, it is manifest, that the term of the yet unexhausted fifth vial, which most probably, with partial contemporaneousness, runs into the term of the sixth vial, comprehends within its limits the whole period of the Roman beast's *dead state* or (in the language of the interpreting angel) the whole period during which the Empire *is not*.

¹ This was written in the year 1827.

CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE UNFULFILLED PROPHECIES OF THE
APOCALYPSE.

HITHERTO, our course has been sufficiently plain : but, when we approach to the unfulfilled prophecies of the Apocalypse, we can do little more than sort and arrange them by the aid of those which have been already fulfilled.

I. That we should, *antecedently* to the accomplishment of such prophecies, pretend to settle and determine minute particulars, was not, I apprehend, the intention of the revealing Spirit. But, yet, *unfulfilled* prophecy so far depends upon *fulfilled* prophecy, that a knowledge of the latter *must*, to a certain extent, involve a knowledge of the former.

Thus, if, in *fulfilled* prophecy, it has been satisfactorily determined, that the ten-horned wild-beast denotes the Roman Empire : we cannot but recognise the same Roman Empire in *unfulfilled* prophecy, when, still in *unfulfilled* prophecy, we again encounter the same ten-horned wild-beast. Hence, if, in *unfulfilled* prophecy, we find the destruction of the ten-horned wild-beast announced ; we are certainly enabled, by the aid of *fulfilled* prophecy, to anticipate the destruction of the Roman Empire.

The same remark applies to the harlot and the false prophet. In the explanation of *fulfilled* prophecy, they have been severally determined, under some slight varieties of aspect, to be what we may generally denominate *the Church of Rome*. Hence, if, in *unfulfilled* prophecy, we read of the destruction of the harlot and the false prophet; we are obviously compelled, on our own principle of exposition, to consider ourselves as reading of the destruction of the Roman Church and the Papacy. . .

Beyond this, save as the very terms of the prediction itself lead us by the hand, we are not warranted to go: and, in truth, so far as speculation is concerned, the less that any commentator says respecting unfulfilled prophecy, the more will he merit the praise of a wise sobriety.

II. The unaccomplished prophecies of the Apocalypse may be reduced under the three principal divisions of the sixth vial, the seventh vial, and the millennium.

Though I come to this part of my subject with much reluctance: yet, since my Work would be incomplete if I passed it over in total silence, I proceed to consider it on the principle and in the order, which have been specified.

CHAPTER VII.

RESPECTING THE EFFUSION OF THE SIXTH VIAL.

ST. JOHN delivers the prediction of the sixth vial in terms following.

And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates : and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings from the rising of the sun might be prepared. And I beheld three unclean spirits, like unto frogs (for they are the spirits of demons, working signs), to go forth, from the mouth of the dragon and from the mouth of the wild-beast and from the mouth of the false prophet, unto the kings of the earth even of the whole habitable world, in order to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty¹. Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he, that watcheth,

¹ I punctuate the original in manner following, which removes all necessity of the ellipse commonly thought to be here required.

Καὶ εἶδον, ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου, πνεύματα τρία ἀκάθαρτα, ὁμῶς βατράχοις (εἰσὶ γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμόνων, ποιοῦντα σημεῖα), ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης.

and keepeth his garments ; lest he walk naked, and they see his shame. And they gathered them together ¹ into a place, called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon ².

The subordinate matters, included within the oracle of the sixth vial, are : the exhaustion of the Euphrates ; the preparation of a way for the kings from the rising of the sun ; the going forth of three unclean spirits to the kings of the earth ; and the agency of those unclean spirits in gathering the kings together to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

I. Of these several subordinate matters, the first is the allegorical exhaustion of the great river Euphrates.

On the principle of the partial development of *unfulfilled* prophecy by the aid of *fulfilled* prophecy, I can have no hesitation in applying, with Mr. Mede, this figuratively predicted circumstance to the literal downfall of the Ottoman Empire. In the present case, the operation of the principle is abundantly obvious. If the loosing of the four angels who are bound on the margin of the Euphrates, as effected by the sounding of the sixth trumpet, denote the *rise* of the Turcomannic

¹ The verb singular *συνήγαγεν*, as it has often been justly remarked, agrees with the nominative neuter plural *ἀκάθαρα πνεύματα*, whose office it was, as we learn from a preceding clause, to collect the kings.

² Rev. xvi. 12—16.

Power¹: homogeneity requires, that the exhaustion of the same Euphrates, by the influence of the numerically corresponding sixth vial, should import its *downfall*.

Accordingly, with this result, the poetical machinery of the oracle will be found perfectly to agree. The imagery of describing the Sovereignty, within the dominions of which the Euphrates is situated, by the strong and many waters of that river, had *already* been employed by Isaiah in the case of the King and Kingdom of Assyria². Hence, by the analogy of prophetic language, the *present* waters of the Euphrates, even independently of the aid which we receive from the already accomplished oracle of the sixth trumpet, can only be the Monarch and Monarchy of the Ottomans. Such being the case, we are again brought to the conclusion, that the exhaustion of the waters of the Euphrates must denote the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

An impatient speculatist, upon the passing events of the age combined with the gradual evolution of the mysterious roll of prophecy, will perhaps be tempted somewhat rapidly to pronounce, that the sixth vial is even now flowing, and that it began to be poured out upon the mystic Euphrates when on the 4th day of April in the year 1821 the Greek Insurrection commenced with the capture of Patras.

¹ See, above book iv. chap. 7. § II.

² Isaiah viii. 7, 8.

The notion is plausible; and, peradventure, it may be well-founded: but, so far as I can judge, we have not, as yet, sufficient ground for deliberately and seriously espousing it. That the Ottoman Empire still exists, is indisputable: what may be the final result of the Greek Insurrection, is uncertain. Should the present course of events terminate in the downfall of the Turcomannic Sovereignty; we should, by the then accomplished prophecy, have a positive proof afforded to us, that the sixth vial began to flow in the April of the year 1821: but, should matters turn out otherwise; we should then have an equally strong demonstration afforded to us, that the effusion of the sixth vial is still future.

On this principle, since I dare not assert that the sixth vial has begun to flow, and since at all events much that its oracle announces is still future, I deem it the most wise and the most decorous to arrange its effusion among the unfulfilled prophecies of the Apocalypse.

II. The exhaustion of the Euphrates, whenever it occurs, prepares a way for the kings from the rising of the sun.

Mr. Mede supposes, that by these kings are meant the dispersion of Judah: and, as he accounts very handsomely for their regal title on the ground of their being destined partakers of the Messiah's predicted kingdom; so, no doubt, the removal of the Turcomannic power, which at present occupies

Palestine, would fitly prepare a way for the return of the ancient lords of that country.

Yet, in this application of the prophecy, there is a somewhat considerable difficulty. The Jews, we know, are dispersed to all the four winds of heaven; north, south, east, and west. Hence, if a commentator pronounces the Jews to be identical with these apocalyptic kings from the rising of the sun; he ought, I think, to teach us, why they are brought *specially*, or rather (as the terms of the prophecy seem to intimate) *exclusively*, from the regions of the east ¹.

¹ If there be any foundation for the *general* idea entertained by Mr. Mede, that this part of the oracle refers to the ancient people of God, I should incline to conjecture, that, by the kings from the rising of the sun, we ought to understand, not so much the dispersed of Judah, as the long-lost ten tribes of Israel.

The ultimate return of the ten tribes to their own land, and their political union with their brethren of the house of Judah, are alike expressly foretold both by Isaiah and by Ezekiel (Isaiah xi. 10—16. Ezek. xxxvii. 11—28.): and, in regard to their present residence, we ought most probably to seek them in those *exclusively eastern* regions, whither their ancestors were in old times deported.

Accordingly, in those very regions, and in other neighbouring but still *strictly oriental* regions, there yet subsist numerous allied communities of Israelites, who appear to have been separated from the primitive stock long before the last dispersion of the *proper* Jews when Jerusalem was sacked by the Romans under Titus. These communities have been found in Cashmire, Tartary, Persia, Cochin, and Malabar: and, though, by successive migrations in the course of so many centuries, they are now

III. Subsequent to the exhaustion of the Eu-

geographically separated from each other; yet, by letters and occasional visits, they are said still to keep up a mutual intercourse and connection. See my Treatise on the Restor. of Israel and Judah, vol. i. p. 85—90. 2d edit. Buchanan's Christ. Research. p. 310—324.

With respect to the Afghans, their connection with the ten tribes is, I think, somewhat doubtful: and, as for the discovery of the deported Israelites in the red savages of North America, a speculation first (I believe) started by Mr. Adair and since revived by Dr. Boudinot, the alleged proofs, particularly that deduced from the sacred ark which in truth was common to almost all pagan nations, are so vague and indefinite, that I confess myself to be utterly incredulous.

On the whole, I fully assent to the rational opinion of Dr. Buchanan, that *the greater part of the ten tribes, which now exist, are to be found in the countries of their first captivity.*

Mr. Fleming and Dr. Woodhouse, rejecting altogether the interpretation of Mr. Mede, suppose the kings from the rising of the sun to mean simply the oriental nations in general: which nations are, at present, almost universally, either pagan or mohammedan. Hence, in *their* view of the prophecy, the exhaustion of the mystic Euphrates will prepare a way for the conversion of those nations to the faith of the Gospel. See Fleming's Apoc. Key, p. 60. Woodhouse's Apoc. Translat. p. 404—406.

The tenability of such an exposition I venture greatly to doubt.

In the first place, it does not very distinctly appear, why the oriental *nations* in general should be so peculiarly and as it were emphatically denominated *kings*. Had such nations been intended, it might seem more natural to have styled them, in ordinary scriptural phraseology, *the children of the east* or *the men of the east*. Compare Judg. vi. 3, 33. vii. 12. viii. 10. 1 Kings iv. 30. Isaiah xi. 14. Jerem. xlix. 28. Ezek. xxv. 4, 10.

This difficulty might perhaps be conquered by the remark,

phrates, St. John beholds three unclean spirits, under the semblance of frogs, to go forth, from the mouth

that, in Hebrew diction, *kings* are put for *kingdoms*; so that the *kings* from the rising of the sun mean only the *kingdoms* of the east: but then, in the second place, it is hard to discover, how the downfall of the Ottoman Power (for such, I think with Mr. Mede, is the only legitimate and consistent interpretation of the drying up of the mystic Euphrates) should, in any *special* manner, prepare the way for the conversion of the Hindoos, or the Persians, or the Thibetians, or the Chinese, or the Burmans, or the Japanese, to the faith of Christianity. In discussing this question, we must not forget the express assertion of the oracle, that the water of the Euphrates is dried up, *in order that* (Gr. *ἵνα*) a way might be prepared for the kings from the rising of the sun. The *specific object* of the exhaustion, therefore, is, we see, the preparation of a way, manifestly *over* the now exhausted river, for these oriental princes. Hence it becomes necessary to shew, *how* the exhaustion of the mystic Euphrates can be intelligibly explained, as *specially* preparing a way, *over* its now dry and sandy bed, for the general conversion of the eastern nations.

This last particular, on the contrary, would excellently correspond with a preparation for the return either of the Jews or of the Israelites to the land of Palestine; for, until the power of the Turks be broken, so that God's ancient people might pass over it as they would pass over the bed of an exhausted river, such a return is politically impossible: but I see not, how it corresponds with any conceivable preparation for the conversion of the oriental nations to Christianity.

I may add, what seems definitely to require the application of the oracle, if not to the dispersion of Judah, yet to the Israelites of the ten tribes, that the very same imagery is employed by Isaiah, in immediate and avowed connection with the ultimate general return of God's ancient people.

If, with St. John, the mystic Euphrates is to be dried up, in

of the dragon and from the mouth of the wild-beast and from the mouth of the false prophet, to the

order to prepare a way, over its deserted bed, for the kings from the rising of the sun : so, in like manner, with Isaiah, while the tongue of the figurative Egyptian sea or the delta of the widely-overflowing Nile is to be destroyed, for the purpose of facilitating the return of the Jews from the west; the great river Euphrates is to be smitten into seven shallow streams across which men may pass dry shod, in order that, over the exhausted allegorical flood, there may be an high-way, for the remnant of the Israelites from the east, out of the land of Assyria whither they had been deported by Salmaneser. Isaiah xi. 10—16.

Now, when we recollect how perpetually and how systematically St. John borrows his imagery from the ancient Hebrew prophets, such a coincidence is, I think, too striking, to be purely undesigned and accidental. The one prediction seems naturally to explain the other prediction.

Many commentators, I am aware, from Jerome downward, have supposed the river, mentioned in Isaiah xi. 15, to be the Nile; being influenced, no doubt, in their opinion, by the mention of the imagined familiar seven streams. But, in the first place, the river in question is not smitten *in* its already-existing seven streams, as the matter is represented in the versions of Jerome and our English translators: but, according to the more accurate rendering of Bishops Lowth and Stock, it is smitten or divided, as in after times the Gyndes was similarly though more minutely divided by Cyrus, *into* seven streams, whereas before it flowed in one unbroken channel. And, in the second place, what positively determines it to be the Euphrates (which, by way of eminence, the Hebrew writers are wont to denominate simply *the river*), this dividing of its single stream into seven proportionably shallow streams prepares a way for the remnant of the Israelites out of Assyria: which, most clearly, on mere geographical principles, the exhaustion of the African Nile could not be decorously described as effecting.

kings of the earth even of the whole Latin world or Ecuménè.

This phantasm, whatever may be its precise import, incidentally affords a very important chronological notation.

At the effusion of the fifth vial, the seventh head of the Roman beast is slain by the sword, he himself sinks into a state of death or political non-existence, and his kingdom becomes full of darkness. This darkness, and consequently the period of the fifth vial, continues, until the mortally wounded seventh head is healed, and until the beast himself is restored to a condition of life or political reëxistence. Now, in the oracle of the sixth vial, subsequent to the exhaustion of the mystic Euphrates, we find the recently defunct beast once more alive : for he is described, as actively concurring with the dragon and the false prophet in the mission of three unclean spirits to the kings of the earth ; a circumstance, plainly incompatible with the idea of his *then* lying in a state of political lifelessness. Hence, from this part of the oracle of the sixth vial, we seem to learn, that the grand prophetic event, immediately subsequent to the downfall of the Ottoman Power, is the political revival of the Roman Empire by the restoration of its sword-destroyed and now defunct seventh form of supreme government. Such being the case, unless I have altogether failed in my exposition of the seventh Roman head, whenever the Ottoman Power shall fall, we may expect the speedy revival of the Francic Emperor-

ship as the *numerically* eighth Roman king, though *in truth* only one of the preceding seven.

Since, at this present moment, the Roman beast lies politically dead, we may be sure that the mission of the three unclean spirits, in which *he* so actively concurs, is an event still future. What the precise import, therefore, of the prediction may be, must obviously be a matter of uncertainty. If any light can be *antecedently* thrown upon the subject, it must be, partly from an estimate of the character of the unclean spirits themselves, and partly from a consideration of the poetical imagery of the vision.

With respect to the character of the three unclean spirits themselves, it is explained to us, in the course of the prophecy, with a sufficient measure of precision and distinctness. We are told, parenthetically, that these impure beings are the spirits of demons, working signs, or performing simulated miracles.

Such is the declared character of the agents, employed by the dragon and the now revived beast and the false Latin prophet: and, accordingly, in strict correspondence with that character, the poetical imagery of the vision is borrowed, very evidently, from the recorded fact of demoniacal possession. As in the sacred evangelical history, so in the language of the prophecy, the beings introduced are indifferently styled *demons* and *unclean spirits*: and, as, in the sacred evangelical history, beings of this character are described, as taking

possession of human subjects, and as driving them to a sort of reckless insanity ; so, in the language of the prophecy; the three unclean spirits are represented, as going forth to the kings of the earth, and as taking possession of them for the purpose of precipitating them into a mad crusade against the Lord and against his people. Yet, though such is said to be the operation of the three demons, and though such is plainly enough the allusion involved in the account of that operation : nevertheless, at the same time, from the mention which is made in the prophecy of their *working signs*, it is almost impossible not to infer their connection, both with the *delusive signs* wrought by the ecclesiastical beast, with the *delusive spirits and doctrines concerning demons* prophetically announced by St. Paul, and with those *lying signs and wonders* which (according to the same Apostle) are wrought by the man of sin when he comes with all the deceptive energy of Satan ¹.

Having thus, on the one hand, ascertained the character of the three unclean spirits, and having thus, on the other hand, developed the poetical imagery of the vision ; we may now perhaps venture to pronounce, that the following is the idea apparently meant to be conveyed by the prophecy. Through a strenuous preaching of the doctrines of canonised dead men, and through sundry pretended

¹ Compare, in the Greek, Rev. xiii. 4, 13. xvi. 14. 2 Thess. ii. 9. 1 Tim. iv. 4.

miracles wrought in confirmation of such doctrines, the kings of the earth, deceived by the politico-theological agents of the dragon and the beast and the false prophet, will, at the time when the oracle shall receive its accomplishment, be wrought up to a pitch of fury, which may well be compared to the rage of the ancient demoniacs¹.

¹ There is a curious passage in the first Apology of Justin, which may possibly throw some light on the connection, here supposed to exist, in the apocalyptic imagery, between demoniacal possession and the apostatic worship of canonised dead men.

Justin tells us, that, in his time, persons, who were thought to be possessed by the souls of the dead, were universally (that is, apparently, both by Pagans and by Christians) called *demoniacs*.

Καὶ οἱ ψυχᾶς ἀποθανόντων λαμβανόμενοι καὶ ῥιπτόμενοι ἄνθρωποι, οὓς δαιμονιολήπτους καὶ μαινομένους καλοῦσι πάντες. Just. Apol. i. vulg. ii. Oper. p. 50.

Whether this common notion may be properly used to explain the nature of demoniacal possession as described in the New Testament; that is to say, whether we may suppose the demoniacs to be possessed, not by devils properly so called, but by the souls of wicked men departed, I shall not pretend to determine. This, at least, is certain, that no where is any individual described as being possessed by *a devil* or a *διάβολος*: the malady is universally assigned to the agency of *demons*. Nor will the solitary passage, in Acts x. 38, form any exception; for, since Satan is represented as the prince of the demons, those, who were possessed by his agents, whatever might be the precise character of those agents, were of course brought under his power. Comp. Justin. Apol. i. vulg. ii. Oper. p. 55.

I may be permitted to note yet another remarkable circumstance. Throughout the entire New Testament, the word *devil* or *diabolus*, when applied to an evil spirit, is never used in the

IV. The false prophet or the man of sin, who is mainly concerned in the working of these lying miracles, *himself*, of course, well knows, that the whole is an imposture: and the revived seventh head of the Roman beast is too much of an infidel politician not to laugh secretly at the pious frauds, which he willingly employs for the promotion of his own ambitious purposes. But, with the kings of the earth, the delusive spirits so far succeed, as to form them into one vast confederacy under the beast of the revived seventh head, and to gather them (an unseemly mixture of blaspheming infidels and bigoted Romanists) to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

Under the sixth vial, the confederacy is completed: under the seventh vial, the announced battle is fought.

plural number. We read of *men* being *diaboli*, in the sense of *false accusers* (2 Tim. iii. 3. Tit. ii. 3.): but we never read of evil spirits, collectively styled *diaboli* or *devils*. The word *diabolus*, as applied to a *fallen spirit*, invariably occurs only in the singular number, and is invariably and in the way of bad eminence applied to the being whom we ordinarily denominate *Satan*. So far as scriptural phraseology is concerned, we hear of *many demons*, but only of *one devil*.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESPECTING THE EFFUSION OF THE SEVENTH VIAL.

THE seventh vial must be viewed, as comprehending, not only the brief summary of its contents first given by the Apostle, but likewise all those grand events, which are afterward more copiously detailed, and which are placed immediately before the commencement of the Millennium.

And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air : and there came a loud voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying ; IT IS DONE. And there were voices and thunders and lightnings : and there was a great earthquake, such as never was since men were upon the earth, such an earthquake, so great. And the city, the great one, became into three parts : and the cities of the nations fell : and Babylon the great was remembered before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his anger. And every island fled away : and the mountains were not found. And a hail, weighty as a talent, descendeth from heaven upon the men. And the men blasphemed God from the plague of the hail : because the plague of it is exceedingly great¹.

¹ Rev. xvi. 17—21.

It is well observed by Bishop Newton, that, as *the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet contain many more particulars, than any of the former seals and former trumpets ; so the seventh vial contains more, than any of the former vials.* To this observation it may be added, that the mode of arranging the seventh vial exactly corresponds with the mode of arranging both the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet. At the opening of the seventh seal, which comprehends all the seven trumpets and thence likewise all the seven vials, a brief syllabus is given of its contents : and those contents are afterward set forth at large, when the prophet goes on to treat of the several subordinate constituent periods included within it as a grand primary period¹. In a similar manner, at the sounding of the seventh trumpet, a brief syllabus is also given of *its* contents : and, afterward, those contents are set forth at large, when the prophet comes to treat of the seven vials, which are all included within the seventh trumpet as all the seven trumpets are included within the seventh seal². So now again, at the effusion of the seventh vial, the very same plan is still pursued : for a brief syllabus of its contents is first given ; and, afterward, a larger explanation is afforded, when the prophet descends to treat of particulars³.

The subordinate matters, included within the

¹ Rev. viii. 1—5. See above book iv. chap. 4.

² Rev. xi. 15—19. See above book vi. chap. 1. § I. II.

³ Rev. xvi. 17—21.

oracle of the seventh vial thus viewed in its largest extent, are : the annunciation, *It is done* ; the great earthquake ; the storm of hail ; the final destruction of Babylon ; the marriage of the Lamb ; the battle of that great day of God Almighty ; and the manifestation of Christ and his armies mounted on white horses.

I. Immediately upon the effusion of the seventh vial, which is characteristically poured out into the air or atmosphere of the Roman earth ; whence proceed thunder and lightning and hail, or the tumults and wars and invasions portentive of an expiring body politic : immediately upon the effusion of this vial, a voice out of the temple and from the throne of God himself proclaims, *IT IS DONE*.

This proclamation indicates, that the mystery of God, which was to be finished during the blast of the seventh trumpet, is now completed ¹. But that mystery, as all commentators allow, is the long permissive reign of the powers of darkness : at the close of which, the saints are to be delivered out of the hand of the little Roman horn, the scattered people of Daniel are to be converted and restored, the tyranny of the secular Roman Empire under its revived seventh head is to be finally broken, and the Mohammedan little horn is to be fractured without hand ².

Hence the comprehensive proclamation, *IT IS*

¹ Rev. x. 7. See above book ii. chap. 4. § I. 3. (1.) II. 2. (2.)

² Dan. vii. 25—27. xii. 1, 6, 7. Rev. xvii. 11. Dan. viii. 25.

DONE, solemnly announces the expiration of the latter 1260 years: a matter, fully allowed by Mr. Mede; though, from an error in synchronisation, he unfortunately makes the period of the seventh trumpet and the period of the seventh vial commence contemporaneously.

II. Ere the proclamation has well been made, in the midst of voices and thunderings and lightnings, a mighty earthquake occurs, which divides the great Babylon into three parts, which brings Babylon herself in remembrance before God, which overthrows the cities of the nations, and which dissipates every island and mountain.

On the principles of synchronisation, this mighty earthquake of the seventh vial is the same as the earthquake, which is announced alike both in the syllabus of the seventh seal and in the syllabus of the seventh trumpet: for, as the seventh seal comprehends all the trumpets, and as the seventh trumpet comprehends all the vials, the last event of the seventh seal must inevitably fall, not only under the seventh trumpet, but likewise under the seventh vial¹. What is intended by the triple division of Babylon, can only be explained by the event: but the earthquake plainly relates to that final overthrow of the great city and to that complete dissipation of the apostate Roman Empire, which are here briefly announced, and which are afterward treated of at large.

¹ See above book iv. chap. iv. in init. book vi. chap. 3. § I. 7.

III. Attendant upon the earthquake is a tremendous storm of hail.

Respecting this yet future visitation, nothing more can be said, than that, on the principle of symbolic imagery, it denotes some dreadful attack made upon the beast and his adherents from that region of the north, where in the natural world hail and snow and ice are generated ¹.

IV. The destruction of Babylon, which is briefly alluded to as produced by the earthquake, is afterward described at large in a strain of poesy evidently borrowed from the ancient Hebrew prophets ².

This destruction is emphatically declared to be final and irremediable ³. Hence, if, by the mystic Babylon when viewed ecclesiastically, we are to understand the corrupt and persecuting Church of the Western Roman Patriarchate; respecting which, so far as I can judge, there can be no reasonable doubt: we have a distinct prophecy, that, under the seventh vial and at the close of the latter 1260 years, the Church of Rome will be ultimately and utterly subverted.

V. Synchronically with that great event, or at least so far synchronically that they are both included within the same period of the seventh vial, occurs the marriage of the Lamb.

¹ See above book iv. chap. 6. § I.

² Rev. xviii.

³ Rev. xviii. 21.

The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him : for the marriage of the Lamb is come ; and his wife hath made herself ready. And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen clean and white : for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints ¹.

In regard to this allegorical marriage, I fully assent to the application proposed by Mr. Mede. Every thing connected with that marriage, whether chronological or circumstantial, whether negative or positive, demonstrates its relation to the conversion and ecclesiastical readmission of Judah.

1. To settle this important matter, it will be useful to begin with discussing the question *negatively*.

The consort of the Lamb, here described, cannot be the harlot-church of Babylon, who is represented as the mother of all younger harlots, and who therefore collectively with them is the whole apostate Church of the Gentiles : for that Church is prophetically exhibited, as being completely overthrown and therefore as resolved into its component individuals, at the very time when the marriage of the Lamb takes place.

Neither can she be those godly individuals and those two distinct ancient Churches, who, under the figure of the measured worshippers and the two prophesying witnesses, faithfully proclaim the

¹ Rev. xix. 6—8.

truth during the whole period of the latter 1260 years : for, if this were the case, if they were espoused to Christ only at the *very close* of that period, they would be described, by a necessary implication, as having been *previously* alienated from their Lord ; the very contrary of which is plainly set forth in the prediction relative to the measured worshippers and the two faithful witnesses.

Neither yet can she be the several Churches collectively, which reformed themselves in the course of the sixteenth century : for the same implication would attend upon this hypothesis, as would obviously attend upon the preceding theory.

Neither, lastly, can she be the hitherto unconverted Gentiles, who will at length be brought to embrace the faith of Christianity : for the marriage of the Lamb takes place *synchronically* with the overthrow of the antichristian faction ; but the ultimate conversion of the Gentiles, by the general testimony of prophecy, *succeeds* that overthrow ¹.

2. Thus far the point has been ascertained *negatively* : and this will enable us, without much difficulty to ascertain it *positively*.

It is said of the Lamb's mystical consort, that she hath made herself *ready* : and it is added, *that, as soon as* she hath made herself *ready*, the time of the marriage is come. From this statement, we

¹ See Isaiah lxi. 15—24. Dan. vii. 9—14, 25—27. Zechar. xiv.

learn two very important particulars : that the destined consort will *not* be prepared for her Lord, *until* the days of the seventh vial or *until* the time of the end or *until* the close of the latter 1260 years ; and that, *in* the days of the seventh vial or *at* the time of the end or *at* the close of the latter 1260 years, she *will* be prepared for him. If, then, the destined consort will *not* be prepared for her Lord, *until* the arrival of that epoch : she must plainly be *unprepared* at this *present* moment, because that epoch has not yet arrived. In other words, she must be a community, which *hitherto* has not been converted to Christianity, but which *will* be converted at the close of the latter 1260 years or in the days of the seventh vial or at the time of the end.

Now to this description the ancient Israel of God alone corresponds : and that long repudiated, but not finally rejected, Church answers to it in every particular. The Jews, having renounced and crucified that divine person the Angel of Jehovah, who was the God of their fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and who was the allegorical husband of the Levitical Church, became alienated from the Lord, while the Gentiles were called in to supply their place. In this state of figurative repudiation they have continued down to the present day ; without the King even without the Ruler, and without sacrifice, and without statue, and without ephod and teraphim : rejected by the regal head of the theocracy, and incapacitated by the course of

events from celebrating the gorgeous rites of the temple-service ; yet, unlike their forefathers of old, steadily abominating every form of idolatry, and bearing witness in all quarters of the globe to the divine unity. But we are assured, that they will not remain in such a condition for ever. A set time is fixed to the reëspousal of the Levitical Church : for we are taught, that, contrary to the universal practice among men who never take back a once repudiated wife, Jehovah will at length receive again his dismissed consort ¹. And this set time of reëspousal is explicitly determined to be, at the close of the latter 1260 years, or at the time of the end, or at the expiration of the times of the Gentiles : and it is always described, as synchronising with some remarkable overthrow of God's enemies ².

Such are the destinies, past and future, of the Levitical Church : and they plainly answer, with the utmost degree of minuteness, to those of the Lamb's consort in the Apocalypse ; while the condition of the Lamb's consort will answer to that of no other community than the Levitical Church. Each is at present unprepared, and therefore *not* the consort of the Lamb : each will make herself ready at the close of the latter 1260 years : and each, at that precise epoch, will be solemnly owned

¹ Jerem. iii. 1.

² Dan. xi. 40. xii. 1, 6, 7. Luke xxi. 24. Isaiah lxvi. 5—24. Jerem. xxx. xxxi. Joel ii. iii. Zephani. iii. Zechar. xii. xiii. xiv.

and espoused. Hence, I think, there can be little doubt, that the consort, whom the Lamb receives in marriage during the effusion of the seventh vial or (as Daniel speaks) during a period of unexampled trouble, is the long repudiated Church of Israel¹.

VI. I have observed, that the set time of the reëspousal of Judah is always described as synchronising with some remarkable overthrow of God's enemies.

Such, accordingly, we find to be the case in the Apocalypse. While the figurative marriage of the Lamb is in the act of being celebrated, that great battle, in which the Roman beast, the false prophet, and the kings of the earth, are banded together against the Lord, is represented as occurring. The result of it is the complete overthrow of the anti-christian faction and the final triumph of Christ and his saints².

The collocation of this battle, under the seventh vial, at the close of the latter 1260 years, and synchronically with the restoration and conversion of Judah, determines its identity with that battle, which, under exactly similar circumstances, is foretold by more than one of the ancient prophets.

¹ This application of the marriage of the Lamb is confirmed by its strict chronological accordance with the arrangement set forth in other prophecies. The national conversion of the Jews will *precede* the general national conversion of the Gentiles. See above book ii. chap. 2. § II. 1. 2.

² Rev. xix.

Such, for instance, is the battle announced by Joel¹: such, again, the battle predicted by Zechariah²: and such, that final battle foretold by Daniel, in which, none being able to help him, the wilful Roman king perishes in the height of his strength³. Each of these prophets connects the battle in question with the restoration and conversion of the Jews: and Daniel additionally determines its time to be that of the period, which he styles *the time of the end*, and which has been shewn to synchronise with the seventh apocalyptic vial and with the expiration of the latter 1260 years. Hence, on Mr. Mede's invaluable principle of synchronisation, there can be no doubt, that Joel, Zechariah, Daniel, and John, in severally predicting a great war or battle which occurs at the time of the conversion of Judah and which issues in a total overthrow of an impious confederacy, announce one and the same event.

Such being the case, these four parallel prophecies of one and the same occurrence will obviously throw much light upon each other; all severally setting forth some circumstance, which has been omitted by the rest.

Thus, from Joel and Zechariah and Daniel, we distinctly learn, that the battle will be fought in Palestine, and that the mighty controversy will be

¹ Joel ii. iiij.

² Zechar. xii. xiii. xiv.

³ Dan. xi. 40—45.

decided between the two seas of that country ; a point, which can be gathered only obscurely from St. John : while, on the other hand, we learn distinctly from St. John, that the parties, to be overthrown in the battle, are the Roman beast under his revived seventh head, the false Latin prophet, and the associated kings of the Roman Ecumenè ; a point, which may be gathered indeed though not so precisely from Daniel, but which cannot at all be gathered from Joel or Zechariah.

The several particulars, therefore, which we are taught by this combination of parallel prophecies, are the following : that the parties, destroyed in the battle, are the various Powers, civil and ecclesiastical, of the apostate Roman Empire ; that the time of their destruction is the close of the latter 1260 years ; that the region, where their destruction takes place, is the land of Palestine ; and that the palmary event, synchronical with their destruction, is the conversion and restoration of Judah.

Matters of such a nature, thus established by concurrent testimony, will explain some points in the Apocalypse, which are otherwise of less easy explanation.

1. The synchronism of the vintage and of the battle is determined by the circumstance of the interchangeable phrascology, under which they are respectively described : for the vintage is a battle, and the battle is a vintage ; and, as in the vintage the clusters of the vine are cast into the great wine-

press of the wrath of God, so in the battle Christ is said to tread the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of the Almighty¹.

Now, in the vision of the vintage, blood is represented as coming out of the wine-press, even up to the bridles of the horses, by the space of 1600 furlongs².

The preciseness of this geographical mensuration is remarkable: but its import is fully explained by the elsewhere predicted fact, that the battle will be fought and that the wine-press will be trodden in Palestine; for 1600 furlongs are found to be the exact length of that country³.

2. As St. John alludes to Palestine by the accuracy of his geographical mensuration: so, by the Hebrew name *Armageddon* which he employs to designate the place of the battle, he again refers us to the very same region.

Into the compound word *Armageddon*, the name of *Megiddo* very plainly enters. But Megiddo is a town of Palestine: and, in fatal harmony with

¹ Compare Rev. xiv. 18—20, with Rev. xix. 11—21: and see Isaiah lxiii. 1—6. By the mystical Edom, the Rabbins very rightly understand the Roman Empire, which is destined to destruction at the close of Daniel's three times and a half. Quicquid dixerunt prophetæ de destructione Edom in postremis temporibus, says R. Kimchi, de Roma dixerunt. See Med. Placit. Doct. Heb. Oper. lib. v. p. 902.

² Rev. xiv. 20.

³ See D'Anville's Map of Palestine with scales of mensuration annexed. This coincidence, between the length of Palestine and the 1600 Jewish Risin, was long since noticed by Jerome.

the parallel prophecy of Daniel, it is actually situated between the two seas of that country, the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea ¹.

VII. In St. John's description of the battle of Armageddon, the Roman beast and the false prophet and the kings of the Latin earth stand arranged on the one side : while, on the other side, their opponents are Christ and the armies of heaven, mounted upon white horses, and clothed in tunics of fine linen ².

This manifestation of Christ to destroy the apostate Roman Empire, on the principle of synchronisation already laid down, is clearly the same : as the coming of the Lord with fire to plead with all flesh, celebrated by Isaiah ³ ; as the judicial interference of Jehovah from out of Zion, mentioned by Joel ⁴ ; as the going forth of the Lord to fight against his congregated enemies, mentioned by Zechariah ⁵ ; as the standing up of Michael on behalf of Judah at the time of the destruction of the wilful Roman King, mentioned by Daniel ⁶ ; as the

¹ From a comparative view of prophecy, Jerome and the ancient Fathers were brought to exactly the same result as myself : and I quite agree with Bishop Horsley in thinking, that they had good reason for their opinion, that Antichrist, in the fulness of his strength, is doomed to perish on the mountains of Palestine.

² Rev. xix. 11—16.

³ Isaiah lxvi. 15—18.

⁴ Joel iii. 16.

⁵ Zechar. xiv. 3, 4, 13, 14.

⁶ Dan xii.

coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven to overthrow the Roman beast and his little horn, also mentioned by Daniel ¹; as the parallel coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven at the epoch of the restoration of Judah and of the completion of the times of the Gentiles, announced by Christ ²; and as the brightness of the coming of the Lord to destroy the man of sin, foretold by St. Paul ³.

For, that all the several prophecies, which announce this coming, relate to one and the same event, cannot be doubted: because they alike predict a coming of the Lord; *circumstantially*, to destroy his enemies, the corrupt secular and ecclesiastical Powers of the apostate Roman Empire; *geographically*, to work this their overthrow in the land of Palestine; *chronologically*, to occur at the epoch of the restoration of Judah and at the expiration of the latter three times and a half⁴.

This being the case, since, by the concurrent voice of prophecy, an advent of Christ is clearly announced, as taking place at the close of the latter 1260 years and immediately before the commencement of the millennial period of blessedness foretold alike by Daniel and by St. John; a question, in regard to the *specific nature* of this predicted advent, here obviously presents itself: the question,

¹ Dan. vii. 11—14.

² Luke xxi. 24—27.

³ 2 Thess. ii. 8.

⁴ See Med. Comment. Apoc. de mill. ann. Oper. p. 531. 532.

namely, *Whether such advent ought to be understood LITERALLY or FIGURATIVELY.*

1. That, in the conventional language of symbols as taught mechanically in the ancient schools of the Hebrew Prophets, the bare phraseology itself, of *A coming of the Lord with the clouds in the great day of his controversy*, is perpetually used, after a *figurative* manner, to describe nothing more than *God's temporal judgment of a wicked nation or community through the agency of mere second causes*, is most certain and most indisputable¹.

Hence it is evident, that, from the bare use of the phraseology *itself* by Daniel and John and others of the prophets in this *particular* instance; the instance, I mean, of *the overthrow of the Roman beast and the false prophet immediately before the commencement of the Millennium*: it is (I say) evident, that, from this bare use of the phraseology *itself*, no legitimate argument, in favour of a *literal* advent at the close of the latter 1260 years and immediately before the commencement of the 1000 years, can be deduced.

For the question is not, whether those prophets actually *do* employ such phraseology in this particular instance: but the question is, *in what sense* they so employ it.

The naked fact of *the actual employment of the phraseology* nobody controverts. But this naked

¹ See above book i. chap. 1. § I. 13. book ii. chap. 1. § II. 2.

fact, which of course all commentators admit, does nothing, *of itself*, toward settling *the true import* of the phraseology as employed in this particular instance.

So far, therefore, as the *bare phraseology* is concerned, the question is left entirely open. Hence, blamelessly in respect to the *bare phraseology*, many persons have supposed, that the advent or epiphany of Christ, now under consideration, is purely a *figurative* advent: and hence, on the other hand, still blamelessly in respect to the *bare phraseology*, many persons, among whom must doubtless be reckoned the great father of apocalyptic exposition himself, have supposed, that this advent is strictly a *literal* advent.

2. The general belief of the Church, in all ages, has been: that, as the Lord came *once*, in great humility, to redeem mankind from the penalties of the violated Law; so he will come a *second* time, in surpassing glory, to judge both the quick and the dead, and to assign to all an unalterable portion either of happiness or of misery.

Hence, in strict accordance with the express testimony of Scripture, her general belief has ever been, that *no more* than two *literal* or *proper* advents of Christ, as contradistinguished from merely *figurative* or *tropical* advents, are to be admitted by the faithful: the *former*, an advent of humiliation which is past; the *latter*, an advent of glory which is future ¹.

¹ As it is appointed unto men once to die; but, after this, the

Under these circumstances, if we acknowledge Christ to have *once* come literally in humiliation, if we expect him *again* to come literally in great glory immediately before the commencement of the Millennium, and if we also expect him *yet again* to come literally in great glory at the final consummation of all things : the inevitable result of such an expectation will be the doctrine, not of two literal advents *only*, but of THREE literal advents.

From the excellent Mede down even to the present day, this inconvenience was naturally felt by the advocates for a *literal* advent of our Lord immediately before the commencement of the Millennium : and, accordingly, they have avoided it by the peculiarity of the arrangement which they have been induced to adopt.

Their system, and the principle upon which it is founded, may be briefly stated in manner following.

All the texts, which announce a yet future coming of Christ in glory, relate to one and the same

judgment : so Christ was ONCE offered to bear the sins of many ; and, unto them that look for him, shall he appear, the SECOND time, without sin unto salvation. Heb. ix. 27, 28.

Duos adventus ejus omnes annuntiaverunt prophetæ : unum quidem, in quo homo in plaga factus est, sciens ferre imbecillitatem :—secundum autem, in quo super nubes veniet, superducens diem quæ est sicut clibanus ardens. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iv. c. 56.

Αἱ προφητεῖαι δύο λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰς Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας· τὴν μὲν πρότερον, ἀνθρωποπαθεστέραν—τὴν δ' ἑτέραν, ἐνδοξον. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 43.

event: namely, that *literal second advent of the Lord*, which Scripture teaches us to expect, and which the Church has thence always expected. Now *many* of these texts chronologically determine this second advent to an epoch which immediately precedes the commencement of the Millennium. Therefore, since *all* the texts speak alike of one and the same advent: an epoch, which immediately precedes the commencement of the Millennium, is the true chronological epoch of the literal second advent of Christ.

This point being thus determined as a principle, a general comparison of Scripture with Scripture is thought to bring out the following system.

After the expiration of the latter 1260 years and immediately before the commencement of the Millennium, Christ, in flaming fire, will be *personally* and *literally* revealed from heaven with his holy angels. This fire, being no other than the mundane conflagration foretold by St. Peter as an attendant upon the second advent in the great day of the Lord, cannot but destroy all the wicked, who shall then be living upon earth: both those, who shall actually be engaged in the predicted antichristian confederacy of the Roman beast; and those also, wherever they shall be found, who by evil deeds are enemies of the Lord and of his Anointed¹. Meanwhile, the dead in Christ having been first raised, those pious individuals also, who shall be

¹ 2 Peter iii. 7—13.

alive at this his second literal coming, shall be corporeally changed : and then, agreeably to the declaration of St. Paul, the raised holy dead and the changed holy quick shall be caught up together in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and shall thus escape the tremendous conflagration which will effectually destroy the whole body of the wicked ¹. But this deluge of fire will not only destroy the wicked inhabitants of our earth : it will likewise, through the operation of burning and melting with a fervent heat (as St. Peter speaks), purify and renovate our earth itself ; so as, by producing out of the chaotic wreck a new material heaven or atmosphere and a new material earth or sublunary world, to make it a suitable habitation for the glorified people of God ². Accordingly, when such a process shall have been accomplished, the pious dead (limited, however, by St. John, to the martyrs only) who have partaken of the first resurrection at the commencement of the thousand years, and the pious quick who have been changed at this second literal advent of the Lord with the clouds of heaven, will *personally* reign, with Christ himself also *personally*, upon the renovated paradisiacal earth, during the period of an entire millenary ³. When that period shall have expired, the second resurrection, or the general resurrection both of the wicked and of those holy persons who (by reason of their not

¹ 1 Corinth. xv. 22—24, 51—54. 1 Thess. iv. 13—18.

² 2 Peter iii. 12, 13. Rev. xx. 11, xxi. 1.

³ Rev. xx. 4.

having suffered martyrdom) had not been privileged to partake of the first resurrection, will forthwith occur, agreeably to the declaration of the apocalyptic prophet : and Christ, having judicially absolved the righteous and having judicially condemned the unrighteous, will finally, with all his glorified saints, ascend to heaven, there to remain throughout the countless ages of a blessed eternity¹. Hence it appears, that, although, in common familiar parlance, and indeed according to the generally prevalent vulgar notion, we are apt to speak of the day of judgment, as if it were comparatively a single point of time at the absolute end of the present mundane system, whether millennial or premillennial : yet, in truth, it comprehends the space of at least a thousand years. For the second advent of Christ occurs, immediately before the commencement of the Millennium ; when the first resurrection of the martyrs, and the corporeal change of those who are alive at his coming, take place. But Christ himself (for, otherwise, the theological solecism of THREE *literal* advents will be produced) remains *personally*, upon the renovated earth, to the very end of the Millennium : when the second or general resurrection is effected, and when sentence will be passed generally both upon the righteous and the unrighteous².

¹ Rev. xx. 5, 11—15.

² Med. Comment. Apoc. de mill. ann. Oper. lib. iii. p. 530—532. Comm. Apoc. de magn. die judic. Oper. lib. iii. p. 535—537. De resurr. prim. et millen. apoc. Oper. lib. iii.

3. It is obvious, that the whole of this speculation, which certainly (as Mr. Mede has fully shewn) may be traced, at least in its principal points, to very high ecclesiastical antiquity, when distinctly drawn out and when severely compressed, reposes ultimately upon the principle: that *ALL the texts, which announce a future coming of Christ in glory, relate to one and the same event, namely the literal second advent of the Lord*; and, consequently, that *ALL texts, which contain any such annunciation, cannot be interpreted figuratively, but must of very necessity be interpreted literally.*

Hence, unless such a principle can be established by *sufficient testimony* or by *invincible argument*; it is obvious, that the entire system, *built* upon the principle, forthwith vanishes into empty air: and hence we might reasonably expect, that the principle *itself*, being thus even *vitally essential* to the system, would have been *demonstrated* and *guarded* by a full exertion of that mighty faculty of comparative combination, which so eminently distinguishes the venerable author of the *Clavis Apocalyptica*.

- p. 571—573. De regn. *ἐπιφαν.* Christ. Oper. lib. iii.
 p. 577—579. Rem. on Apoc. c. xi. xii. Oper. lib. iii.
 p. 602—605. Paraph. and Expos. of 2 Pet. iii. Oper. lib. iii.
 p. 609—619. Oper. lib. iv. epist. 20. p. 770—772. epist. 22.
 p. 775—777. Anonymous Dialogues on Proph. convers. v.
 p. 149—193. Thoughts on the scriptural expect. of the Christ.
 Church, by Basiliscus. lett. i—vi. p. 5—80.

Yet, though I have carefully perused the various scattered statements of Mr. Mede, relative to the topic now before us ; with surprise and disappointment, I am constrained to confess, that not even a vestige of *demonstration* have I been able to discover. In the *abstract*, ALL the texts in question *may* relate to one and the same event, namely the literal second advent of Christ : but, assuredly, in the *concrete*, Mr. Mede has given us no demonstration, that such is *actually* the case ; and, if that great writer, quite dissimilarly from his ordinary practice, has produced nothing that wears so much as the mere semblance of *demonstration*, we shall not wonder equally to note the perfect absence of all *proof* from the far less elaborate essays of his modern followers.

In the want of this *necessary demonstration*, we are naturally led to ask : Since the imagery of *the day of judgment* and of *the Lord's advent* is perpetually used by the prophets, and among them by Christ himself, as involving nothing more than the mere conventional symbols of the temporal visitation of *any* wicked nation or community, such as Babylon or Assyria or Egypt or Edom or Jerusalem, through the simple agency of second causes ; why are we *compelled*, when we find the *selfsame* imagery employed to describe some visitation of the apostatic Roman Empire, at the close of the latter 1260 years and immediately before the commencement of the Millennium, to interpret that imagery *literally* ?

To such a question, as the matter now stands *in point of argument*, the sole answer, which can be given, is the dogmatical but unsupported assertion : that the predicted advent of Christ to judge the Roman Empire is *identical* with his confessedly literal second advent to judge the quick and the dead ; and, *therefore*, that it *must* be understood *literally* and not *figuratively*.

Doubtless, the conclusion will be most logically valid, when once the alleged fact of *identity* shall have been established. But precisely here it is, that the argument halts. The fact of *identity* is gratuitously *assumed*, not evidentially *demonstrated*. Let the alleged fact be *proved* : and the discussion is forthwith terminated.

4. But, though no *demonstration* of this vital point has been attempted, so far as I know, either by Mr. Mede or by any one of his modern followers : yet, that the question may be argued with perfect fairness, I shall *myself* first adduce, and then consider, the sole apparent evidence, which, after long thought on the subject, I have been able to discover.

(1.) The sole apparent evidence to the alleged fact of *identity* I state in manner following.

St. Paul, in his *first* Epistle to the Thessalonians, foretells and describes an advent of Christ from heaven, which, as all must allow, is indisputably his *literal* second advent to judge both the quick and the dead ¹.

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 13—18.

Now, to this *already* mentioned advent he *avowedly* refers in his *second* Epistle to the Thessalonians: and *there* he connects it with the destruction of the man of sin; who is confessedly the same, as the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast, and as the false wonder-working prophet of the Apocalypse¹.

But the man of sin, or the little horn, or the false prophet, is destroyed at the advent, which occurs at the close of the latter three times and a half and immediately before the commencement of the Millennium: and he is *likewise* destroyed at the advent, to which St. Paul refers as already mentioned in his *first* Epistle to the Thessalonians, and which assuredly is the *literal* second advent of the Lord.

Therefore, since the man of sin is alike destroyed at *each* of these predicted advents, the advents themselves must be *identical*. Whence, of plain necessity, it will follow, that the *literal* second advent of Christ takes place, after the close of the latter three times and a half, and immediately before the commencement of the Millennium.

(2.) As I have now very fairly given the sole apparent evidence to the alleged fact of *identity* which I have been able to discover, I shall next proceed to consider its sufficiency.

Now, in the general context of *neither* of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, is there any

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2, 3, 8.

thing, which can warrant the opinion, that St. Paul in the '*second* Epistle is referring to the advent which he had mentioned in the '*first* Epistle, and thence that the advent which destroys the man of sin is *identical* with the literal second advent of Christ.

The Thessalonians, it appears, subsequent to their reception of St. Paul's '*first* Epistle, were led to imagine, that the day of Christ, whatever precise day may be meant by the expression, was at hand. But to this notion they could not have been conducted by any thing which is said in the '*first* Epistle: for, so far as I can find, not a hint of such a nature does the '*first* Epistle contain¹.

What, then, it will be asked, could have induced them to take up such an opinion?

I answer: Some '*forged* letter, which they had received as purporting to come from St. Paul, but

¹ It will scarcely, I think, be said, that the Thessalonians could be so obtuse, as to mistake St. Paul's '*generalising* we for any intimation, that he '*himself* expected to be alive at Christ's second coming. 1 Thess. iv. 15. Nor will it be said, that, from his '*general* address to their community, they could have fancied, that that day should be witnessed by their own still living individual '*selves*. 1 Thess. v. 4. Yet, except this mere '*generalising* phraseology, the use of which is too familiar in every language to create any misapprehension, I can discover nothing, throughout the entire '*first* Epistle, which could give the Thessalonians any just reason to imagine, that St. Paul was announcing a speedy occurrence of the literal second advent of the Lord.

which St. Paul himself in his *second* and *genuine* Epistle takes occasion to disavow¹.

This *spurious* letter, written, like the *first* and *genuine* Epistle, not in the Apostle's *own* chirography, but in that of an apparent amanuensis, occasioned their alarm: for it led them to imagine, that the advent of Christ to destroy the little horn or the man of sin, so graphically described by Daniel, was close at hand. To prevent any such impositions in future, therefore, while he assures them that that advent was still remotely distant and that the man of sin was not as yet even revealed, he tells them, at the close of his *second* and *genuine* Epistle, that the token, by which they might always distinguish *his own proper* letters, was *his* appended concluding salutation, written with *his own* hand, and not in the chirography of the amanuensis whom he might happen to employ².

Hence, I contend, we have no sufficient evidence, that St. Paul, in his *second* Epistle, refers to the literal second advent of Christ which he had announced in his *first* Epistle: and, consequently, I contend, that the vital fact of *identity* still remains, as Mr. Mede left it, altogether unsubstantiated.

5. Hitherto I have considered the question only

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 2. Μήτε ἐν' ἐπιστολῇς ὧν ἐν' ἡμῶν: *Nor by epistle as if from us.* That is to say: *Be not troubled by an epistle, as if it had come from us; for, in truth, no such epistle did we ever write to you.*

² 2 Thess. iii. 17.

negatively : and the result has been, that, since the predicted advent of Christ to judge the apostate Roman Empire immediately before the commencement of the Millennium has never been demonstrated to be *identical* with the literal second advent of Christ to judge both the quick and the dead ; we cannot justly be required to admit a circumstance, the truth of which has never yet by any sufficient testimony been established.

At *this* point of the discussion, therefore, though we cannot reasonably be expected to *believe*, that the literal second advent of Christ will occur immediately before the commencement of the Millennium ; inasmuch as the fact of that occurrence has not been *proved* by evidence from Holy Scripture : yet neither can we legitimately *deny*, that the literal second advent of Christ *may* take place at that particular epoch ; for a matter may be perfectly true in itself, although its truth may be incapable of antecedent demonstration.

Such being the present state of the inquiry, I shall now proceed to shew *positively*, that the speculation, respecting the occurrence of the literal second advent of Christ immediately before the commencement of the Millennium, is encumbered with so many difficulties and contradictions, that, upon the principles of sound reasoning, its admission is rendered altogether impossible.

(1.) In our Lord's own account of his literal second advent, the universal judgment, both of the quick and of the dead, of the just and of the unjust,

is described as taking place *immediately upon the occurrence* of that literal second advent: while not a hint is given of any *long-antecedent* resurrection of the martyrs, as if such resurrection were their peculiar and exclusive privilege¹

But the speculation before us places the literal second advent of Christ at the least a thousand years *anterior* to the universal judgment: and it causes it to be distinguished, at the epoch of its occurrence, not by the universal judgment itself, but by a *prior* resurrection of the martyrs, who literally reign with the Lord a whole millenary upon the renovated earth ere the universal judgment itself takes place.

The advocates for the present speculation will here doubtless plead the authority of St. John in the Apocalypse, who places a resurrection of the martyrs at the *commencement* of the Millennium synchronically with the alleged literal second coming of Christ, and who fixes the universal judgment to an epoch which *follows* the Millennium².

With respect to this argument, we cannot allow Scripture to be so interpreted as to contradict Scripture.

Whenever, in Holy Writ, we find an *apparent* diversity of statement: that, which is mystical and obscure, must be expounded, so as to agree with that which is simple and perspicuous; not that,

¹ Matt. xxv. 31—46.

² Rev. xx.

which is simple and perspicuous, distorted from its natural and obvious meaning, for the purpose of making it accord with our own arbitrary exposition of that which is mystical and obscure.

On this legitimate principle, St. John's prophecy in the Apocalypse must be interpreted by our Lord's prophecy in the Gospel; not our Lord's prophecy in the Gospel, by St. John's prophecy in the Apocalypse.

The adduction, indeed, of St. John's prophecy, for the purpose of *settling* the present dispute, is neither more nor less than *a complete begging of the question*. That prophecy cannot justly be brought forward *in argument*, until it shall *first* have been proved, that the announced resurrection of the martyrs at the commencement of the Millennium is a *literal* resurrection. But this matter has never yet been proved: and, as (I trust) we shall hereafter find, the very *opposite* is capable of a full and direct demonstration¹. Hence, even to say nothing of the necessity of interpreting St. John's obscure prophecy by our Lord's perspicuous prophecy, we cannot allow a mere arbitrary exposition of an obscure and mystical prediction to be adduced as any *conclusive argument* against what is certainly the plain and natural import of our Lord's simple and perspicuous prediction. Now the plain and natural import of that simple and perspicuous prediction is, that the universal judg-

¹ See below book vi, chap. 9. § II.

ment is *immediately* consecutive to the literal second advent, not that the one follows the other after *the long interval* of a thousand years. Therefore no speculation can be tolerated, which thus evidently contradicts the perfectly unambiguous language of Christ himself.

The advocates for the present speculation, however, have yet another resource. St. Paul, it is alleged, in a prophecy no way obscure and mystical like that of St. John, declares expressly and unequivocally, that *the dead in Christ shall rise FIRST*: and, agreeably to this declaration, he asserts, in another passage equally free from all obscurity and mysticism, that, at the resurrection from the dead, *every man will appear in his own order; Christ, the first-fruits; afterward, they that are Christ's at his coming*¹. Hence, therefore, it follows, that there will *literally* be a first and a second resurrection: and hence the *literal* interpretation of St. John's prophecy is directly established by the *inevitably literal* interpretation of St. Paul's prophecy.

I marvel, that so strangely inconclusive an argument should ever have been adduced by so deep a thinker and by so generally close a reasoner as the excellent Mede. Between the alleged parallel prophecies of St. Paul and St. John, there is, in good sooth, no sort of parallelism whatsoever. St. John's first resurrection is a resurrection of the martyrs *exclusively*: St. Paul's first resurrection

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 16. 1 Corinth. xv. 23.

is a resurrection of *all* the dead in Christ, without the slightest hint of any limitation to the martyrs. St. John's first resurrection precedes, not only a second resurrection by the interval of an entire millenary, but likewise yet a third resurrection of all the dead both small and great separated from the second resurrection by at least the interval which is occupied in the formation and subsequent destruction of the confederacy of Gog and Magog: St. Paul's first resurrection is marked by no such characteristics; for not the least intimation is given, that, after the successive lapses of *two* very considerable periods of time, it will at length be followed either by a second resurrection or a third resurrection. The alleged parallelism, therefore, between the two prophecies of the two Apostles, is altogether imaginary: when closely discussed, it is found to have no actual existence.

Mr. Mede, I am fully aware, would, with his wonted ingenuity, discover, in the prophecy of St. Paul, the desiderated and essentially necessary interval.

*The dead in Christ, says the Apostle, shall rise first. THEN we, which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air*¹.

A plain reader would think, that the word *then* effectually precluded the possibility of any such interval as a *millenary*, and that it imported the im-

¹ 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

mediate consecutiveness of *the change in the quick to the resurrection of the dead in Christ*. Yet, in this precise word, does the sagacity of Mr. Mede detect the interval which is so necessary to the rotundity of his system. The word *then*, he remarks, does not always import *immediate* consecution : for St. Paul employs the very same Greek word, though rendered by our English translators *afterward*, to describe the consecution of the resurrection of the just, in the day of Christ's coming, to the *long previous* resurrection of Christ himself¹. Hence, if the word *then* may, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, denote an interval of certainly *much more* than a thousand years : there can be no reason, why it may not denote an interval of *only* a thousand years, in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians.

In such a criticism, the excellent author does but shew, how the very ablest men may be led astray by the *ignis fatuus* of system. Whatever abstract grammatical possibility may attend upon the word *then* ; it clearly admits not of any interval, as it occurs in St. Paul's prophecy addressed to the Thessalonians. *The dead in Christ shall rise first : then we, which are alive and remain, shall be caught up TOGETHER WITH THEM in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air*. Mr. Mede's ingenious fabrication, of an interval of a whole mille-

¹ Gr. *ἔπειτα*. Compare 1 Thess. iv. 17, with 1 Corinth. xv. 23.

nary out of the single word *then*, is effectually destroyed by the expression *together with them*. If those, who shall be alive at Christ's coming, are to be caught up in the clouds *together with* the dead in Christ who shall rise first; it is manifest, that the interval, contained in the word *then*, must be reduced, from a thousand years, to a single point or moment of time.

In truth, the prophecy of St. Paul, which, like that of our Lord, is simple and unambiguous, perfectly and without the least violence, corresponds with our Lord's prophecy. According to the order of circumstances, the dead in Christ, when the Son of man shall come in his glory, will indeed rise *first*: but then they will rise *first*, only in reference to the *immediately consecutive* change of those, who shall be alive at his coming; not in reference to any *second* or *third* resurrection, succeeding the *first* after two *very considerable* intervals. In *one* moment, the pious dead are raised incorruptible: in *another* moment, the pious quick are changed; and are forthwith, together with them, caught up to meet the Lord. Then *immediately* follow the resurrection and the corporeal change of the wicked, according as they shall be dead or alive in the day of the second advent. And, when these several matters shall have been successively effected with the rapidity of thought; then, agreeably to the unequivocal prophecy of Christ, *shall the Son of man sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall sepa-*

*rate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats*¹.

The prophecy of St. Paul, we see, when *literally* interpreted, perfectly accords with the prophecy of our Lord : but the prophecy of St. John, if *literally* interpreted, is altogether irreconcilable with it. Thus, I think, it appears, that the very first fruit of the speculation, which, without a shadow of proof, would place the literal second advent of Christ immediately before the commencement of the Millennium, is a direct contradiction to Christ's own prophecy respecting his own literal second advent to judge the quick and the dead.

(2.) According to the necessary consequence of the speculation now before us, the renovated earth, *during* the millennian period, can only be tenanted, by *the martyrs who have been raised from the dead at St. John's first resurrection*, and by *the pious corporeally changed individuals who were found alive in the day of Christ's literal second advent*. For the universal mundane conflagration, which *attends upon* our Lord's second coming, will have effectually destroyed *all the wicked, who shall be found alive at that epoch* : and *these wicked persons*, together with *their wicked predecessors who died anterior to the second advent*, will not be raised again to receive their final sentence until the general resurrection *subsequent* to the Millen-

¹ Compare 1 Corinth. xv. 23, 51—54. 1 Thess. iv. 13—18. Matt. xxv. 31—46.

nium. Therefore clearly, by the hypothesis, there can be no other occupants of the renovated earth, than *the pious raised dead* and *the pious changed quick*.

Now, by the express declaration both of our Lord himself and of his Apostle St. Paul, persons so circumstanced can die no more : for *death will then have been swallowed up in victory*¹. Consequently, during the millennial period as viewed according to the present speculation, death can no longer prevail.

But here we are immediately encountered by another flat contradiction. St. John, by the full admission of Mr. Mede himself, distinctly teaches us, that death is *not* annihilated until the universal judgment *subsequent* to the Millennium². Therefore, if death be *not* annihilated until *after* the Millennium, it must evidently prevail *through* the Millennium precisely as it does at present : and, accordingly, we find, in matter of fact, that the confederates of Gog and Magog, though inhabitants of the millennial earth, are nevertheless slain by the descent of fire from heaven. Hence it will follow, since death prevails *through* the Millennium, and since the *only* occupants of the renovated earth are *the pious raised dead* and *the pious changed quick*, that *the pious raised dead* and *the pious changed quick*, notwithstanding the declaration of

¹ Luke xx. 35, 36. 1 Corinth. xv. 51—54.

² Mede's Rem. on Apoc. c. xii. Oper. lib. iii. p. 605. lib. v. c. 10. p. 907.

our Lord and St. Paul to the contrary, will all continue to die, exactly like ourselves, during the entire triumphant period of the Millennium.

Of this inconvenience, a man, like Mr. Mede, could not be insensible : but, upon *his* principles, the difficulty was, how to avoid it. The matter, however, is not given up in despair. He solves the problem by supposing, that the mundane conflagration, which confessedly *attends upon* Christ's literal second advent, will be only partial, not absolutely universal. The collective continents of Europe and Asia and Africa will, indeed, be subjected to its influence : and, when purified and renovated by it, will constitute what St. John calls the *parembolè* of the saints, whether raised from the dead or corporeally changed in the day of the Lord's coming¹. But the continents of America and of the Terra Australis Incognita will escape ; for, to *them*, the conflagration will not extend : and *their* inhabitants will still be liable to death, though the inhabitants of the renovated *parembolè* of our upper hemisphere will be exempt from it.

Respecting such a solution, which many perhaps will deem somewhat arbitrary, the only *real* question is ; how far it can be reconciled with St. Peter's predictive account of that mundane conflagration, which will *accompany* the second advent of the Lord in judgment.

Now the whole tenor of the Apostle's language,

¹ Rev. xx. 9.

unless the very plainest expressions may be legitimately pronounced equivocal, most distinctly and precisely imports *universality*. The material atmosphere, he tells us, and the earth, which now exist, *are reserved unto fire, against the day of the judgment and perdition of ungodly men. For the day of the Lord will come, as a thief in the night: in which the material atmospheric heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth and all the works that are in it shall be burned up.* From an impending catastrophe thus awful, he draws the inference: *Seeing; then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness* ¹.

Such is the language, employed by St. Peter to describe a mundane conflagration, which Mr. Mede would limit to the continents of Europe and Asia and Africa, and from which he would wholly exempt the continents of America and the Terra Australis Incognita. But this limitation is so plainly made for the mere purpose of serving the necessities of a system, and is so utterly irreconcilable with the palpably universalising language of the Apostle, that no sober inquirer, I think, can for a moment hesitate to reject it. The original contradiction, therefore, still remains in full potency: nor can it be removed by any expedient, short of

an entire retraction of the theory, which would place St. Peter's universal mundane conflagration *immediately before* the commencement of the Millennium. But, if this theory be retracted, the theory of the literal second advent at the same epoch must be retracted also ; for, since the universal mundane conflagration indisputably *accompanies* the literal second advent, the two theories of *the literal premillennian second advent* and of *the universal premillennian conflagration* stand or fall together.

- (3.) Yet, even if we could justly concede to Mr. Mede his untenable expedient of an arbitrary limitation, his system would soon be found equally to halt with a new contradiction.

If the continents of Europe and Asia and Africa be burned up and entirely dissolved *immediately before* the Millennium, it is clear, that *none* of the wicked, within those geographical limits, whether active members of the Roman antichristian confederacy or not personally taking a direct part in its operations, can possibly escape inevitable destruction. Accordingly, Mr. Mede expressly states, that such will be their lot : for, while the saints, he remarks, will be caught up to Christ in the air, and will thus be preserved from this tremendous conflagration ; the wicked will be consumed in the deluge of fire, which will then be let loose upon the whole of our upper hemisphere¹.

¹ Mede's Works, book iv. epist. 22, p. 776.

But this necessary result from the excellent author's system, even, as explained and limited and modified by himself, directly contradicts the joint positive attestation of Isaiah and Zechariah.

The former of these two prophets, when speaking of that advent of the Lord which synchronises with the restoration of Judah and with the overthrow of the Roman faction at the end of the latter 1260 years; that is to say, when speaking of that very advent which Mr. Mede would have to be the *literal* second advent; declares, that God will send those, who *shall escape* out of the general destruction of that faction, to the distant nations of the earth: when they shall celebrate his glory among the Gentiles, and shall thus be instrumental in bringing back the still unrestored remnant of Israel from out of all nations to the holy mountain of Jerusalem ¹.

The latter of these two prophets, still speaking of that same advent of Christ which synchronises with the restoration of Judah and with the overthrow of the Roman faction, distinctly assures us, that certain individuals shall *escape* out of the destruction of all the confederated nations which will then come against Jerusalem ².

Now, according to Mr. Mede's system even as modified by *himself*, the escape of *any* individuals out of the fiery destruction of the antichristian con-

Isaiah lxvi. 15—24.

Zechar. xiv. 16—19.

federacy is plainly *impossible* : for, as he teaches us, Christ, in this day of his *literal* second advent, will let loose upon the wicked a deluge of fire, which will burn up and clean dissolve the whole collective continents of Europe and Asia and Africa.

(4.) As, however, we cannot concede to Mr. Mede his untenable expedient of an arbitrary limitation of that universal mundane conflagration, which St. Peter associates with the literal second advent of the Lord ; we must prepare ourselves to encounter yet another contradiction, which inevitably flows from his most infelicitous speculation.

By the concurrent voice of prophecy, the general conversion of the Gentiles to the faith of Christ is placed *after* the restoration of Judah and *after* the confessedly synchronical overthrow of the antichristian faction. Accordingly, Mr. Mede himself most justly remarks, that, *until the calling of the Jews* (which Daniel and our Lord definitely fix to the end of the three times and a half or to the end of the times of the Gentiles), *the general conversion of the Gentiles is not to be expected : for the receiving of Israel shall be the riches of the world ; in that, by their restitution, the whole world shall come unto Christ* ¹.

But, if the *literal* second advent of the Lord, and consequently the *universal* mundane conflagration, occur at the precise time, when, immediately before the commencement of the Millennium,

¹ Mede's Works, book v. chap. 2. p. 892.

Judah is restored, and the Roman faction is overthrown: it is manifestly *impossible*, that any *subsequent* conversion of the now unbelieving Gentiles can be accomplished.

An ardent follower of Mr. Mede may perhaps remind us, that he *limits* St. Peter's mundane conflagration to the old continents; and may thence send us to the unscathed continents of America and Australia for the predicted future conversion of the Gentiles. But, even to say nothing of the fact that America is *already* evangelised and that the Terra Australis still remains an *unknown* land, Mr. Mede's *arbitrary limitation* of what St. Peter makes *strictly universal* has been shewn to be altogether untenable.

(5.) One difficulty yet remains, of so very peculiar a nature, that it must by no means be silently pretermitted.

St. John tells us, that, when Satan is liberated at the close of the Millennium, he will go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, that he will gather them together to battle in number as the sand of the sea, that they themselves will come up on the breadth of the earth, that they will compass the *parembolè* of the saints and the beloved city, and that fire from God out of heaven will at length devour them ¹.

Now, on the system adopted by Mr. Mede and his followers, where shall we find *materials* for the

¹ Rev. xx. 7—9.

construction of this formidable ultimate confederacy, which the Apostle collectively denominates *Gog and Magog*?

The venerable hierophant himself, whose ingenuity never fails him, would, in strict conformity with the prophet's own express language ¹, *bring up* the conspirators from the lower hemisphere of America and the Terra Australis Incognita ².

This, however, is impracticable: for the mundane conflagration, which St. Peter associates with the literal second advent, is clearly *universal*.

Dr. Thomas Burnet, who admits, what cannot be reasonably denied, the *universality* of St. Peter's mundane conflagration, resorts to yet another expedient. According to this learned writer, the innumerable hosts of Gog and Magog, in all the four quarters of the earth, will be generated, like the classical Python, by the productive heat of the sun, from the teeming slime of the renovated earth ³.

The speculation is sufficiently ingenious: but I apprehend, that few systematisers of the present day would have nerves strong enough to adopt it in good sober controversial earnest.

Again, then, we are constrained to ask the perplexing question: Where, on the system adopted by the literalists, shall we discover *materials*, out of which we may consistently fabricate the innumerable hosts of the final daring apostasy?

¹ Gr. ἀνέβησαν, *they went up or ascended*.

² Med. de Gog. et Magog. conject. Oper. lib. iii. p. 575.

³ Burn. Theor. lib. iv. c. 10. p. 149.

Truly, on this 'most extraordinary system, our *sole materials* are, *the holy martyrs who were raised from the dead, in the day of the first resurrection, and the holy living individuals who were corporeally changed at the time of Christ's literal second advent immediately before the commencement of the Millennium* : for such will be the *only* inhabitants of the earth, when it shall have been first dissolved and then renovated by the grand *universal* mundane conflagration.

6. The system, however, is not only thus hampered with invincible difficulties : it is likewise, *as a system*, directly contradicted by most express testimony of Holy Scripture.

. *Repent ye, and be converted*, said the Apostle Peter to the assembled Israelites in the portico which bore the name of Solomon, *that your sins may be blotted out ; to the end that the times of refreshment may come from the face of the Lord, and that he may send Jesus Christ who was before preached unto you : whom heaven must receive, until the times of the accomplishment of all the things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began*¹.

(1.) In this important passage, our English

¹ Μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψασθε, εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας· ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεκηρυγμένον ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ὃν δεῖ ὑμᾶν μὲν δεῖξασθαι, ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος. Act. iii. 19—21.

translators have ill rendered the leading clause in manner following : *Whom the heaven must receive, until the times of restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets.*

Now, doubtless, *all the things which God hath spoken by the prophets* may be ACCOMPLISHED : but it is hard to comprehend, how *all the things which God hath spoken by the prophets* can be RESTORED. A RESTITUTION of the whole *materia prophetica* is, so far as I can see, altogether unintelligible : an ACCOMPLISHMENT of the whole *materia prophetica* is what we plainly must expect, if we believe the divine inspiration of the holy prophets.

Such, accordingly, in the present clause, is doubtless the right translation of the Greek word *Apo-catastasis* : and such, therefore, was the mode, in which it was understood by the well-judging ancients. They constantly so interpret it, as to express the idea of *accomplishment* or *exhibition* or *disposition* or *final settlement*. Thus the clause, in which it occurs, is rendered by the Syriac ; *Until the fulness of the time of all things* : by the Arabic ; *Until the times in which all the things shall be perfected or finished* : by Irenæus ; *Until the times of the disposition of all the things which God hath spoken by his holy prophets* : by Tertullian ; *Until the times of the exhibition of all the things which God hath spoken by the mouth of the holy prophets* : and by Ecumenius ; *Until the time that all the things come to an end.*

Agreeably to this general interpretation of the word as it stands in the present context, Hesychius and Phavorinus state, that one of the senses of *Apocatastasis* is *accomplishment* or *completion* or *consummation*¹. On these very ample authorities, therefore, and according to the plain requisition of good sense, there can be no doubt, that the clause ought to be rendered : *Until the times of the accomplishment of all the things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began*².

From this translation, which, with the ancients, I conceive to exhibit the true sense of the original, the inference is sufficiently obvious.

If heaven must receive and retain Christ, UNTIL the full accomplishment of all the things which God hath spoken by the prophets, since the world began, down to the time when the Apostle uttered the passage now under consideration : then, assuredly, the literal second advent of Christ cannot take place until *after* the complete expiration of the millennial period of blessedness. For Daniel, and Isaiah, and Joel, and Zechariah, all foretell the occurrence of such a period, as immediately following the conversion

¹ According to these Greek Lexicographers, Ἀποκατάστασις is τελείωσις.

² See Whitby's Comment. in loc. vol. i. p. 605, 606. Mill, in like manner, very justly approves of the rendering adopted by Irenæus and Tertullian. Ἀποκαταστάσεως. *Dispositionis*, Iren. *Exhibitionis*, Tertull. RECTE. Mill. Gr. Test. Annot. in loc. Exactly the same rendering, likewise, is rightly adopted by Hardy. Ἀποκαταστάσεως, *Completionis omnium, quæ prophetæ prædixerant*. Hard. Gr. Test. Annot. in loc.

of Judah and the synchronical overthrow of the great Roman confederacy¹. But, according to St. Peter, heaven must retain Christ, UNTIL the accomplishment of all the prophecies which had been delivered anterior to the time when he made such a declaration. Therefore heaven must retain Christ, UNTIL all the ancient prophecies, respecting the millennial period of blessedness upon earth, shall have received their full accomplishment: and, consequently, the literal second advent of Christ cannot occur, until *after* the close of the same predicted millennial period of blessedness.

(2.) I am quite aware, that the present passage has been claimed as their own by Mr. Mede and his followers, and that an argument has been constructed upon it which brings out a directly opposite result: but, the mode in which they interpret the passage being utterly inadmissible, the argument framed upon their interpretation will of course be inadmissible also.

By the *Restitution of all things*, as the phrase stands in our common English version, they understand *the paradisiacal renovation of the mundane universe, both physical and moral*, as effected by the great conflagration which accompanies the literal second advent of Christ immediately before the commencement of the Millennium: and, from this interpretation of the phrase, they argue, that, since

¹ Dan. ii. 35, 44, 45. vii. 13, 14, 27. xii. 12. Isaiah ii. 1—5. xi. 10—16. lx. lxv. 17—25. lxvi. 5—24. Joel iii. Zechar. xiii. 8, 9. xiv.

heaven has received Christ *only* UNTIL the times of the restitution of all things ; *then*, AS SOON AS the times of this restitution arrive, or (in other words) AS SOON AS the Millennium is on the point of commencing, the Saviour, by the very necessity of the passage, will personally appear from heaven.

Such is their interpretation of the phrase : and such is the argument, which they would build upon that interpretation.

Now, had their interpretation of the phrase been admissible ; the argument, constructed upon that interpretation, would doubtless have been perfectly conclusive. But, unfortunately, this is by no means the case. The phrase itself *is*, in truth, contextually incapable of bearing any such sense as that of *the restitution of the universe*. St. Peter's *all things* have no sort of concern with *our terrestrial mundane system*. They are solely and simply *all the several matters which have been foretold by the prophets from the beginning of the world*. Nor, save this, can any other sense be put upon them, except, either by a *flagrant violation of grammar*, or by a *constructively impossible syntax*.

The *former* of these two expedients has been, most unhappily, resorted to by the anonymous authors of the recently published *Dialogues on Prophecy*.

In the clause, as it stands in our common English version, *Until the times of restitution of all things* WHICH God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, these writers make the word

restitution to be the antecedent to the pronoun relative *which* : and thus, in our vernacular tongue, they compel St. Peter to declare, *what* assuredly he never *did* declare, that *the alleged restitution HAS been spoken of by all the prophets since the world began*¹.

Yet a mere mechanical inspection of the Greek original will forthwith satisfy any person who takes the trouble to consult it, that the pronoun *which* is grammatically incapable of relating to the antecedent *restitution*.

The *latter* of these two expedients has been, less blamelessly, resorted to by Mr. Mede.

He would make the relative *which* agree with the antecedent *times* : and thus, more mildly, he would persuade the Apostle to declare, that *the times of the alleged restitution HAVE been spoken of by all the prophets since the world began*.

But the excellent author has not observed, that such a syntax, forced and unnatural in itself, though grammatically possible, is constructively impossible. We may properly say, *Until the times CONCERNING which God hath spoken* : but we cannot properly say, *Until the times WHICH God hath spoken*. Now, in Mr. Mede's construction of the

¹ *The heavens, say they, have received Christ only until the times of the restitution of all things, which HAS been spoken of by all the prophets since the world began.* Dial. on Proph. convers. v. p. 164. Here they plainly refer the pronoun *which* to the antecedent *restitution* : in other words, since the original Greek runs ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεός, they make the relative ὧν agree with the antecedent ἀποκαταστάσεως.

clause, the *latter* is that, which St. Peter says really and actually : though Mr. Mede, in his translation, makes him say the *former*, which in truth he does *not* say. The preposition *concerning* is indeed necessary to make the commentator's construction speak good sense : but that preposition is the sole and exclusive property of the commentator himself. St. Peter says simply WHICH ; not, what Mr. Mede would make him say, CONCERNING WHICH : and, accordingly, both Irenæus and Tertullian so render the original Greek ; referring the pronoun *which*, as it doubtless ought to be referred, not to the imaginary antecedent *times*, but to its true antecedent *all things* ¹.

¹ That the matter may distinctly appear, I subjoin the original Greek with the three several translations of Mede and Irenæus and Tertullian.

"Αχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Act. iii. 21.

Ad tempora restitutionis omnium, *de quibus* locutus est Deus per os omnium sanctorum suorum prophetarum. Med. Comment. Apoc. de magn. Dei jud. Oper. lib. iii. p. 537.

Usque ad tempora dispositionis omnium *quæ* locutus est Deus per sanctos prophetas suos. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 12. § 1. p. 189.

Ad usque tempora exhibitionis omnium *quæ* locutus est Deus ore sanctorum prophetarum. Tertull. de resurr. carn. § xix. Oper. p. 60.

Mr. Mede renders ὧν by *de quibus*, as if the original Greek had run περὶ ὧν : and, in this way only, by the unauthorised insertion of the preposition *de*, can he, with any regard to sense, make the pronoun ὧν the relative to the antecedent χρόνων.

Irenæus and Tertullian, on the contrary, most accurately trans-

The entire clause, in short, as I have already observed, can only, with a proper regard both to sense and to grammar and to construction, be rendered in manner following: *Whom heaven must receive, until the times of the accomplishment of all the things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.*

7. It is not unworthy of remark, that even the very prophecy, which has introduced the present discussion, though it has commonly been adduced by the literalists as one of their strongest points, is, in reality, altogether adverse to their system.

In the apocalyptic vision of the final battle of that great day of the Lord, Christ and his saints appear mounted on white horses¹.

Now a beast, *generically*, is the symbol of an Empire or Kingdom. Whence, *specifically*, as a beast of prey is the symbol of a persecuting Empire: so a war-horse is the symbol of a military Empire; the pugnacious energies of that Empire or Kingdom being practically directed to a good or to a bad purpose, according to the character of the governing rider who bestrides and influences and manages the hieroglyphical charger².

Such being the case, unless the fixed principles

late ὧν by *quæ*: and thus they refer it, as it can only be constructively referred, to its true and natural antecedent πάντων.

¹ Rev. xix. 11—14.

² See above book i. chap. 1. § II. 3, book iv. chap. 2.

of symbolisation be entirely violated, the white horses, in the apocalyptic vision, will denote certain military Empires and Kingdoms : and, since the white horses are ridden by Christ and his saints, the obvious import of the imagery will be, that the opponents of the Roman faction, in the great battle of Armageddon, will be certain warlike Empires or Kingdoms animated and governed, with whatever alloy of human infirmity, by the principles of sincere Christianity.

Here, then, we have a most artful, though a most distinct intimation, that, in the overthrow of the antichristian confederacy between the two seas of Palestine, as in the destruction of Jerusalem by the instrumentality of Titus and the Romans, the Lord will interpose, not by any literal manifestation of himself, but by the secondary agency of those whom he will employ as his servants. The beast and the false prophet and their adherents will be ultimately routed through the heaven-directed valour of the Empires and Kingdoms, typified, on the fixed principles of symbolisation, by an impetuous squadron of white chargers.

8. What *precise* Kingdoms and Empires may be intended, does not appear from the present vision : but, as we may collect some information on this point from other parallel prophecies ; so the very information, which those parallel prophecies afford to us, will serve to shew, that the apocalyptic vision has been correctly interpreted. Universally, the result, brought out, is the same. God's con-

federated enemies are destroyed through the agency of human second causes.

With respect, then, to the *particular* Kingdoms and Empires symbolised by the white horses, we learn, from other parallel prophecies, that, when all nations (as Zechariah speaks) shall be gathered against Jerusalem to battle, there will in no wise be wanting, on the Lord's side, an array of stout and courageous opponents. Now these opponents are said to be, partly the converted of Judah, partly those Powers which at the time of the end will have made themselves the northern King of Syria and the southern King of Egypt, and partly some great maritime nation of faithful worshippers which will be mainly instrumental in the restoration and protection of God's ancient and long rejected people¹. The Powers, thus characterised, therefore, are plainly, on Mr. Mede's admirable principle of mutual synchronisation, the warlike Empires and Kingdoms represented by the white horses of the Apocalypse: but, save only that Judah is expressly designated as *one* of the Powers, we cannot antecedently pretend to say, what *specific* Kingdoms and Empires are intended.

9. Whether the overthrow of the Roman confederacy, at the close of the latter three times and a half, will be attended by any additional miraculous interference on the part of the Almighty, strikes

¹ See Micah iv. 11, 12. v. 8, 9. Zechar. xii. 6. xiv. 14. Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1. Isaiah xviii. lx. 9.

me, as being a totally different question from that of the literal second advent of Christ immediately before the commencement of the Millennium.

The notion, of the literal second advent of Christ occurring at that epoch, is altogether irreconcilable with the general tenor of Holy Scripture: but, apparently, there is much in prophecy, which may well lead us to anticipate that species of miraculous interference which may be defined as consisting in the preternatural employment of natural agency.

Plague, pestilence, perplexity of counsel, and internal dissention issuing in external mutual violence, though all described as sent by the Lord among his irreclaimable enemies, would not strike upon the *apprehension*, as being in any wise miraculous, even according to the most limited view of what might be esteemed a direct miraculous interference¹: but the case were widely different in respect to the palpable horrors of a local earthquake, occurring at a precisely defined moment and for a distinctly specified purpose. Some such event certainly appears to be announced: some such event, therefore, may be rationally and scripturally expected².

Now an earthquake is so generally accompanied by volcanic phenomena, that the particular mode of the apparently predicted visitation will perhaps be nearly allied to the recorded destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha. From that awful event, the poeti-

¹ Zechar. xii. 4. xiv. 12—15.

² Zechar. xiv. 3—11. Isaiah lxvi. 15, 16. Joel iii. 16.

cal machinery of the apocalyptic vision, as Mr. Mede long since intimated, is. I think, very evidently borrowed¹: for, since the battle itself is geographically fought in Palestine between the two seas of that country; we can scarcely doubt, that the prototype of the lake of fire burning with sulphur, into which the beast and the false prophet are judicially precipitated, is the Asphaltite Lake, when viewed under the aspect, which, during its formation by the miraculous subversion of the guilty cities of the plain, it presented to the eyes of the vainly interceding patriarch². Accordingly, some such tremendous local visitation, *preternatural* in regard to the specific time and object of its occurrence, *natural* in regard to the means by which it is brought about, seems not obscurely to be announced by more than one of the ancient prophets, when treating of that destruction of God's enemies which synchronises with the restoration of Judah at the close of the latter three times and a half.

Perhaps the remarkable circumstances, which frustrated, in this identical tract of country, Julian's impious attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem; the whirlwind, the lightning, the earthquake, and the fiery eruption, so ably discussed by Bishop Warburton: these, perhaps, may be viewed, as the prelude and the exemplar of a yet more awfully destructive occurrence in the future day of the

¹ Respicit lacum Sodomiticum seu Asphaltitem. Comment. Minor. in Apoc. Oper. lib. v. c. 11. p. 913.

² Gen. xix. 27, 28.

overthrow of the great Roman antichristian confederacy¹. On this point, however, I would speak with that modesty and diffidence, which becomes the writer, who ventures, even in any the smallest measure, to comment upon unaccomplished prophecy.

10. From the whole of what has been said, relative to the scriptural use of such phrases as *the bright coming of Christ with the clouds of heaven* and *the arrival of the great day of the Lord's controversy*, I am inclined to deduce the following canon of prophetic exposition.

Whenever the judgment of some distinctly specified or plainly insinuated wicked Empire or Community is described; as being effected by the coming of the great day of retribution and by the advent of the Lord with the clouds of heaven : then the temporal judgment of that particular Empire or Community is alone intended ; and the language, in which it is set forth, must be understood *figuratively*, not *literally*. But, when the judgment of no distinctly specified or plainly insinuated Empire or Community is thus described : then the coming of the great day of retribution and the advent of the Lord with the clouds of heaven, being mentioned generally with reference to the whole world and not particularly with reference to some special body politic, must be understood *literally* not *figuratively*.

¹ See Bp. Warburton's *Julian* passim, but particularly book ii. chap. 3..

CHAPTER IX.

RESPECTING THE PREDICTED MILLENNIUM WITH ITS
CONCOMITANTS AND SUBSEQUENCES.

WITH the destruction of God's enemies in Palestine, terminates the seventh vial : and, with the termination of the seventh vial, the third woe passes away. Every obstacle being removed by the overthrow of the Roman beast with the false prophet and the irreclaimable kingdoms of his communion, a happier order of things succeeds : and, with the general conversion of the whole world to sincere Christianity, the glorious Millennial Church is forthwith inaugurated.

The matters, prophetically connected with the yet future period of the thousand years announced by St. John, are : the binding of Satan ; the first and second resurrections, at the commencement, and at the end, of the thousand years ; the blessedness of the thousand years themselves ; the confederacy of Gog and Magog ; the ultimate literal judgment both of the quick and of the dead, at the third or literal resurrection, and at the true or literal second advent of Christ ; and the consecutive

eternal happiness of God's redeemed people in heaven¹.

I. With respect to that binding of Satan which immediately precedes the Millennium, it must plainly be considered as a transaction not visible to human eyes.

The power of the evil spirit being effectually restrained through the well nigh universal prevalence of genuine religion, perhaps also his seductive influence being specially coerced by the direct though unseen interference of the Almighty, he is said, by an easy and natural image, to be chained fast in the poetical central prison of the great oceanic abyss: an abode, the notion of which is familiar alike, both to the pagan bards, and to the inspired writers².

II. Much speculation has been excited by that first resurrection from the dead, which is said to be experienced, at the beginning of the Millennium, by those who had suffered martyrdom for the faith and who had refused to pollute themselves with the idolatry of the apostate Roman Empire.

The doctrine of a *literal* resurrection of the martyrs at this prior epoch certainly prevailed, to a considerable extent, throughout the early Church: and, as it often animated the primitive believers to seal the truth with their blood; so it gave rise to

¹ Rev. xx. xxi. xxii.

² Compare Virg. *Æneid.* lib. i. ver. 297—300. Hesiod. *Theog.* ver. 725—745. 2 Peter ii. 4. Jude 6.

those first prayers for the dead, not that they might be delivered out of a *now existent* romanising Purgatory, but that they might have part in the first resurrection and might pass triumphantly through the *future* renovating conflagration.

Yet, since we have no scriptural ground for expecting the *literal* second advent of Christ at the commencement of the Millennium, we shall be prepared to doubt the theory, which would teach a contemporaneous *literal* resurrection of the martyrs : for, if there be no *literal* or *personal* reign of Christ upon earth during the thousand years, neither can there be any *literal* or *personal* co-reign of the martyrs resuscitated.

1. Accordingly, this obvious inference, from an already established position, is fully substantiated by the internal evidence, which the entire passage in question *itself* affords.

In that passage, we are first taught, that those, who were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years : and we are next taught, in immediate consecution, that the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished ; whence, of course, it follows, that, so soon as the thousand years *are* finished, the rest of the dead *do* live again.

These two particulars, being thus uninterruptedly set forth in one and the same passage, and being thus evidently foretold in direct mutual relation, must, according to the rules of good composition, be interpreted *homogeneously* : that is to say, of

whatever nature' the *one* resurrection is whether *literal* or *figurative*, of that same nature must also be the *other* resurrection.

Now the resurrection of the rest of the dead takes place, we are told, at the end of the thousand years. But the end of the thousand years is not the end of the world. On the contrary, the thousand years are followed, in regular succession, first, by the liberation of Satan; next, by his going out to deceive the nations, which are then existing in the four quarters of the earth; next, by the formation of the confederacy of Gog and Magog out of those thus deceived nations; next, by the going up of the confederacy to compass the holy city; next, by the miraculous destruction of that confederacy through fire from heaven; and then, at length, after the lapse of some undefined period subsequent to the destruction of the confederacy, by the ultimate universal judgment of the resuscitated dead, both small and great, at the literal second advent of Christ and at the final consummation of all things¹. Therefore, what is called *the resurrection of the rest of the dead*, occurring as it does only at the end of the thousand years and long before the final consummation of all things, cannot be the *literal* resurrection of the dead, both small and great, both from the sea and from hades, which the prophet, as might naturally be expected, determinately fixes to the unknown and undefined

¹ See Rev. xx. 5—15.

epoch of the literal day of universal judgment. But, if it cannot be the *literal* resurrection at the literal day of universal judgment: it must be a *figurative* resurrection *before* the literal day of universal judgment. Otherwise, what is a palpable contradiction, we shall make two *general* and *literal* resurrections: the *one* general resurrection, at the end of the thousand years; the *other* general resurrection, at some undefined epoch subsequent to the destruction of Gog and Magog.

The resurrection, then, of the rest of the dead, at the end of the thousand years, has been shewn, by the very necessity of its collocation, to be *figurative*. But homogeneity requires, that the two resurrections, the one at the end and the other at the beginning of the thousand years, should be similarly understood and interpreted. Therefore, the resurrection of the martyrs, at the beginning of the thousand years, must be a purely *figurative* resurrection also.

2. This precise argument from homogeneity is employed by Mr. Mede to bring out the directly opposite result of the *literal* resurrection of the martyrs at the beginning of the thousand years: and, doubtless, if his premises had been well founded, his conclusion would have been invincible. But he unfortunately identifies, what St. John keeps perfectly distinct, *the second resurrection of the rest of the dead at the end of the thousand years*, and *the third or literal resurrection of all the dead both small and great long subsequent to*

the end of the thousand years and at the final day of literal universal judgment. In other words, not observing that the Apostle mentions THREE several successive resurrections, respectively divided from each other by periods of very considerable length; he *identifies* the two last: and thus, erroneously making the second resurrection, at the end of the thousand years, the *literal* universal resurrection; he thence, from false premises, argues, no doubt very logically, backward, that the resurrection of the martyrs, at the commencement of the thousand years, must be a *literal* resurrection also. The fault lies, not in the conclusion, but in the premises. As I have already stated, had his premises been secure, his conclusion would have been invincible¹.

3. The two resurrections, at the beginning and at the end of the thousand years, being thus homogeneously demonstrated to be alike *figurative*; the next point to be considered is the sense, in which they ought equally and similarly to be understood and interpreted.

(1.) As the very construction of the prophecy itself will conduct us to the sense in which the *second* resurrection ought to be understood, we will begin

¹ See Med. de Resur. prim. Oper. lib. iii, p. 572, 573. lib. iv. epist. 20. p. 770, 771. Bishop Newton has closely followed Mr. Mede, in arguing, from the very same false premises, for a *literal* resurrection of the martyrs at the commencement of the Millennium. See Dissert. on the Proph. diss. xxv. vol. iii. p. 316, 317.

our inquiry with that *second* resurrection : for, when *its* import shall have been ascertained ; we shall then, on the principle of homogeneity, have no difficulty in ascertaining likewise the import of the *first* resurrection.

At the close of the thousand years, the rest of the dead, or those dead who are contradistinguished from the faithful martyrs of Christ, rise again : and, at the self-same epoch, Satan is loosed, and goes out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth. The result of his machinations is the formation of an antichristian confederacy, which may well be deemed the *revival* or the *reappearance* of the antichristian confederacy previously destroyed at the close of the latter 1260 years. This *revival* or *figurative resurrection* of the old antichristian confederacy, occurring as it does synchronically with *the resurrection of the rest of the dead* who are contradistinguished from the faithful martyrs of Christ, must, I think, be no other than *that identical resurrection*. The rest of the dead, or those men of antichristian principles who hated and persecuted the faithful and who are therefore contradistinguished from them, are *figuratively* restored to life in the persons of those, who are deceived by Satan at the close of the thousand years, who embrace anew the principles of Antichristianism, and who at length are moulded into a second great confederacy against the remnant of the sincere Church of God.

Such is the interpretation, which both chronology

and circumstantiality require us to give of the resurrection of those other dead persons who are contradistinguished from the martyrs of Christ. As a collective or corporate body, they were slain in the fight of Armageddon at the close of the latter 1260 years, when the antichristian confederacy of the Roman King was destroyed : as a collective or corporate body, they rise again from the dead at the close of the thousand years, when the antichristian confederacy of the Roman King is *figuratively* revived in the antichristian confederacy of Gog and Magog.

(2.) From the now ascertained sense of the second resurrection, we shall have no difficulty in ascertaining also the sense of the first resurrection.

Homogeneity, as we have already seen, demands, that the resurrection of the martyrs at the commencement of the thousand years should be interpreted analogically to the resurrection of their enemies at the end of the thousand years. But the resurrection of their enemies denotes the reappearance of men influenced by the same antichristian spirit as that which characterised their enemies. Therefore the resurrection of the martyrs will homogeneously denote the reappearance of men animated by the temper and principles of the martyrs.

III. The millennian reign of Christ and his saints upon earth, a matter in which Daniel and St. John perfectly agree, has produced no less speculation than the predicted resurrection of the martyrs.

1. As there is no scriptural warrant for the

opinion, that Christ will *literally* come at the commencement of the Millennium, and that his martyred saints will *literally* rise from the dead to reign with him personally upon earth: so I perceive, nothing in the state of terrestrial blessedness announced by the prophets, which *requires* any such literal advent, either to introduce it, or when introduced to perpetuate it through its own allotted and well defined period.

2. The utmost, I think, that can be supposed, consistently with the general tenor of prophecy respecting Christ's second advent, is, that, during the millennial period, there may *possibly* shine forth, as of old, the glory of the Shechinah in the temple of the restored and converted Jews at Jerusalem.

To this supposition, *as a conjecture*, I am not disinclined: though its truth, I apprehend, is incapable of *antecedent demonstration*. We can only say, that, as various prophecies may *seem* to intimate some such matter: so it would, in itself, be perfectly agreeable to the analogy of the two former Dispensations. Patriarchism and Judaism, each during its earlier period, had the permanent glory of the Shechinah¹. Whence we might infer, that Christianity, during its best and most triumphant period, would not want the same perpetual and sensible attestation of the divine presence².

¹ See my Hor. Mosaic. book ii. sect. 1. chap. 1. § VII. 1. (7.) vol. ii. p. 33—38.

² See Isaiah lx. 1—5, 11, 14, 19. lxvi. 15—20. Zechar. ii.

3. Be this speculation, however, either well founded or ill founded, it is not difficult to conceive, how materially the face of society would be changed, and how wonderfully the general condition of mankind would be meliorated, were the Gospel cordially embraced and faithfully acted upon, if not absolutely by *all*, yet by an incalculably great *majority*. Let us picture to ourselves either the whole or nearly the whole of mankind, as being Christians, not in word only, but in deed : and we may perhaps form some conception of the specific nature of the Millennium. What the narrow primitive Church was in spirit and in practice, the immense millenarian Church would likewise be. *Behold how these Christians love each other*, would again become a true remark. Where universal charity prevailed, where selfishness was as much extinguished, and where evil passions were as much subdued, as among the first believers ; wars and dissensions, both public and private, would be no more : where holiness of conversation, springing from grateful love to God through Christ, was predominant ; the various miseries, arising from vice and immorality, would be unheard of. The world, in a degree, would be brought back to a paradisiacal state : and, when the minds of men ceased to be agitated by bad dispositions, and their bodily strength to be undermined

4, 5. Ezek. xliii. 1—7. The whole of this, nevertheless, must antecedently be *mere conjecture* : for, unless we could be positive as to the *meaning* of the texts referred to, we can obviously *prove* nothing by their bare *adduction*.

by excess ; it is natural to suppose, that their lives would be extended to a much longer period than they are at present.

But some, perhaps, may ask : How can these things be ?

To such a question it is not very difficult to give an answer. It was by an abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, not by any natural inherent goodness of their own, that the primitive Christians were made to differ from others. It is by the agency of the same Spirit (I speak, throughout, of his *ordinary* operations), that every faithful Christian of the present day thankfully acknowledges, with Scripture and the Church, that a new heart is created within him. And it is by a yet more abundant effusion of the Holy Ghost both on Jews and on Gentiles, as we are expressly taught in prophecy, that the great mass of mankind will truly and effectually be gathered into the fold of Christ in the days of the Millennium. There is no difficulty in conceiving, had it been agreeable to the purposes of the Most High so to have ordered matters, that *all* men in the apostolic age might have been like-minded with the primitive believers, and that the Gospel might have been universally received instead of being universally opposed. Consequently, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that the Holy Spirit, who was pleased only to operate to a certain extent in the days of the Apostles, may hereafter operate so generally, as to render *nearly the whole* of mankind similar, perhaps even supe-

rior, to the first Christians, in true holiness and in genuine piety. All this, I repeat it, may easily be conceived ; for let no man presume to *limit* the extent of God's operations : and, accordingly (what requires not the intervention of any thing strictly and properly miraculous), we are certainly from prophecy led to believe, that some such general diffusion of holiness will assuredly take place, and with it (what is indeed its natural consequence) a general diffusion of happiness.

IV. At the close of the Millennium, the figurative liberation of Satan will occur : and the result of it will be a lamentable corruption of manners and principles, which will at length call down a signal display of God's vengeance.

After a thousand years of holiness and happiness, man will again be seduced into evil by the arch-deceiver. This corruption will commence at the close of the Millennium : but, since it cannot be imagined that the whole world will plunge at once from piety into impiety, both common sense and general experience may teach us, that a considerable time will elapse, ere the children of men will become so thoroughly depraved as to enter into a regular combination for the purpose of extirpating the small remnant of God's faithful people. St. John does not allot any specific period for this gradual progress of corruption : but we may gather from Daniel, that it will occupy a term of 335 years.' *Blessed is he, that waiteth and cometh unto the thousand and three hundred and*

five and thirty days ¹. This period of blessedness commences, after the time of the end, at the close of the three times and a half during which the little Roman horn is permitted to tyrannise over the saints: it commences, therefore, agreeably to its predicted character of blessedness, synchronically with the apocalyptic Millennium ². Hence the first thousand years of these 1335 years are the thousand years, during which Christ will figuratively reign upon earth with his saints: and hence the remaining 335 years, following as they do the thousand years, can only be the term, during which the millenarian nations gradually degenerate, and at the close of which the confederacy formed out of them is devoured by fire from heaven.

V. The overthrow of the last antichristian confederacy, upon which St. John, like his predecessor Ezekiel, bestows the appellation of *Gog and Magog*, is followed by the literal and proper day of judgment, when all mankind must stand before the tribunal of Christ to receive the final and eternal recompence of their various actions.

For this awful consummation, no definite time is fixed; agreeably to the express declaration of our Lord, that *of that day and hour knoweth no one, no not the angels of heaven, but his Father only* ³. Here, therefore, conjecture were impiety

¹ Dan. xii. 12.

² See above book ii. chap. 3. § II. 4. (2.)

³ Matt. xxiv. 36.

and rashness. Yet we may gather from Ezekiel, that the last day will not quite immediately follow the rout of Gog and Magog : for he both describes the Israelites as employed, either literally or figuratively, in burying the bodies of their enemies during the space of seven months whether natural or prophetic ; and he speaks of their knowing Jehovah their God from that day and forward, an expression which evidently implies a certain undefined continuance of time¹. As for St. John, he simply intimates, that he beheld in the spirit the solemnities of that great day, and that they are chronologically *posterior* to the overthrow of Gog and Magog.

I saw a great white throne and him who sat thereon, from before whose face the earth and the heaven fled away ; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, standing before the throne : and the books were opened. And another book was opened, which is the book of life. And the dead were judged from the things written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead, which were in it ; and death and the invisible state gave up the dead, which were in them : and they were judged, every one, according to their works. And death and the invisible state were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. And, if any one were not found

¹ Ezek. xxxix. 9—16, 22.

*written in the book of life, he was cast into the lake of fire*¹.

VI. The apocalyptic account of the day of judgment at the final consummation of all things is followed, in regular chronological succession, by a highly figured description of the glory and happiness of the Church triumphant in heaven².

At the commencement of the Millennium, the bride of the Lamb, who had *then* prepared herself for her nuptials after her long state of repudiation from her mystic husband, was the Church of Judah: but, now in heaven, the bride appears, in the much more extended character of the entire Catholic Church of the redeemed comprehending alike both Jews and Gentiles³.

This addition to the character of the bride is intimated by the peculiar construction of the figurative Jerusalem. On the twelve gates of the city are written the names of the twelve tribes of Israel: but, on its twelve foundations, are inscribed the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb⁴.

The beatified perfection of the Church triumphant in heaven is intimated in a strain of allegory, which St. John had already employed with reference to the Church militant upon earth.

By the command of the hierophantic angel, he

¹ Rev. xx. 11—15.

² See above book ii. chap. 4. § III. 5. (5.)

³ See above book vi. chap. 8. § V.

⁴ Rev. xxi. 12, 14.

had, in a former vision, measured the temple of God and the altar and them that worshipped therein : but the court without the temple, by the command of the same divine messenger, he had left unmeasured ; because it was given to the Gentiles, who were permitted to tread the holy city underfoot during a period of 42 prophetic months ¹.

Such was long the condition of the Church militant upon earth : and, even in the millennial state, it is by no means wholly immaculate. For, as death, the penalty of sin and the consequent proof of the existence of sin, reigns throughout the entire thousand years, being annihilated only at the final day of judgment ² : so the very formation of an antichristian confederacy like that of Gog and Magog distinctly shews, that the positively evil are still more or less mingled with the imperfectly righteous.

But no such defective condition characterises the Church triumphant in heaven. The angel himself, without any exception, measures the *whole* frame of the allegorical Jerusalem : and he finds it to be a complete cube, equal and consistent in all its moral proportions. No part of even the *entire* holy city is now left unmeasured : no part of it is now consigned to a race of figurative Gentiles. The very temple itself ceases to exist : for now the

¹ Rev. xi. 1, 2.

² Rev. xx. 14.

Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are become its temple¹.

As this condition of the Church can only correspond with its triumphant state in heaven : so the true interpretation of the epilogue to the apocalyptic drama is put out of all doubt by the declaration of the great celestial voice, that *God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of his people ; and THERE SHALL BE NO MORE DEATH, neither sorrow, nor crying ; neither shall there be any more pain ; for the former things are passed away*².

During the term of the Millennium, death still prevails : for death is not annihilated until the day of that final universal judgment, which chronologically *succeeds* the Millennium³. But, when, at that fixed epoch, the *last* great enemy (as St. Paul most accurately and consistently denominates death⁴) shall have been destroyed : then, in the heavenly state, which chronologically follows the final universal judgment, as we are expressly assured, and as indeed results from plain necessity, *THERE SHALL BE NO MORE DEATH*⁵. All sorrow and pain of every description will cease : and the redeemed people of God will enter upon the enjoy-

¹ Rev. xxi. 15—22.

² Rev. xxi. 4.

³ Rev. xx. 7, 14.

⁴ 1 Corinth. xv. 26.

⁵ Rev. xxi. 4.

ment of a felicity, perfect and unchangeable and eternal in the heavens.

He, which testifieth these things, saith : Surely, I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus¹.

¹ Rev. xxii. 20.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SACRED CALENDAR OF PROPHECY.

A.A.C.	A.Æ.L.	
2325	—	THE foundation of the Babylonian Empire, or the ascent of Daniel's first beast from the sea. Dan. vii. 4.
2304	—	The soaring of the Babylonian lion into the air by the agency of his two aquiline wings. Dan. vii. 4.
830	—	The plucking of the Babylonian lion's wings, which brings him down to the ground. Dan. vii. 4.
784	—	The foundation of the independent Persian Empire under the Pishdadian dynasty, or the ascent of Daniel's second beast from the sea. Dan. vii. 5. The standing up of the Persian ram. Dan. viii. 3, 20. The commencement of the 2300 prophetic days. Dan. viii. 14.
763	—	The foundation of the Macedonian Empire, or the ascent of Daniel's third beast from the sea. Dan. vii. 6.
753	—	The foundation of the Roman Empire, or the ascent of Daniel's fourth beast from the sea. Dan. vii. 7. The rise of the Imperial Kingship or the first head of the Roman beast. Rev. xiii. 1. xvii. 3, 9, 10.
681	—	The Babylonian lion raises himself from the ground, whither he had fallen by the plucking of his wings. Dan. vii. 4.
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657	I	The era of the metallic image. Dan. ii. 31, 32, 38. The commencement of the sacred calendar or the seven prophetic times. Dan. iv. 32. The commencement of the times of the Gentiles, or of the times of the four great Gentile Empires as jointly exhibited under the symbol of the metallic image. Luke xxi. 24. Dan. ii. 31—45. The birth of Nebuchadnezzar, the golden head of the image.

A.A.C.	A.B.I.	
		Dan. ii. 33. The opening of the first apocalyptic seal. Rev. vi. 1, 2.
606	52	The commencement of the Babylonian captivity of 70 years. Jerem. xxix. 10. Dan. ix. 2.
563	95	The heart of a man given to the Babylonian lion. Dan. vii. 4.
556	102	The Persian ram begins to push northward and southward and westward. Dan. viii. 4.
538	120	The political junction of the Persian Empire or the silver breast and arms of the image to the head of gold. Dan. ii. 32, 39. The opening of the second apocalyptic seal. Rev. vi. 3, 4.
536	122	The end of the Babylonian captivity of 70 years. Dan. ix. 2. Ezra i. 1—4. One side of the Medo-Persian bear becomes higher than the other. Dan. vii. 5. One horn of the Medo-Persian ram becomes higher than the other. Dan. viii. 3.
508	150	The commencement of the dormancy or abeyance of the Imperial Kingship or the first head of the Roman beast. The rise of the Consulate or the second head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
497	161	The rise of the Dictatorship or the third head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
458	200	The commencement of Daniel's 70 prophetic weeks. Dan. ix. 24.
451	207	The rise of the Decemvirate or the fourth head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
448	210	The fall of the Decemvirate or the fourth head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
444	214	The rise of the Military Tribuneship or the fifth head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
366	292	The fall of the Military Tribuneship or the fifth head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
334	324	The Grecian he-goat comes rapidly from the west against the Persian ram. Dan. viii. 5.
331	327	The political junction of the Grecian Empire or the brazen belly and thighs of the image to its silver breast and arms. Dan. ii. 32, 39. The opening of the third apocalyptic seal. Rev. vi. 5, 6.
59	599	The rise of the Triumvirate or the sixth head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
30	628	The political junction of the Roman Empire or the iron legs and iron-clay feet of the image to its brazen belly and thighs. Dan. ii. 33, 40. The opening of the fourth apocalyptic seal. Rev. vi. 7, 8.
27	631	The expurgation of the Roman Imperial Kingship or the first head of the Roman beast. The fall of

A.P.C.	A.Æ.I.	
		the Consulate and Dictatorship and Triumvirate or the second and third and sixth heads of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10.
33	690	The end of Daniel's 70 prophetic weeks. Dan. ix. 24.
70	727	The commencement of Daniel's 1290 prophetic days. Dan. xii. 11, compared with xi. 31. The commencement of the period described in Dan. xi 32, 33.
311	968	The opening of the fifth apocalyptic seal. Rev. vi. 8—11.
313	970	The opening of the sixth apocalyptic seal. Rev. vi. 12—17. vii. The termination of the period described in Dan. xi. 32, 33. The commencement of the period described in Dan. xi. 34.
324	981	The sealing of the 144,000 mystic Israelites. Rev. vii. The commencement of the woman's figurative gestation; which, agreeably to the economy of nature, continues 40 prophetic weeks or 280 natural years. Rev. xii. 2. The opening of the seventh apocalyptic seal. Rev. viii. 1. The commencement of the short silence in heaven. Rev. viii. 1.
325	982	The first germination of the little western horn from the head of the Roman beast, or the commencement of the spiritual kingdom of the Papacy. Dan. vii. 8.
361	1018	The end of the short silence in heaven. Rev. viii. 1. The seven angels receive their trumpets, and prepare themselves to sound. Rev. viii. 2, 6.
395	1052	The sounding of the first apocalyptic trumpet. Rev. viii. 7.
406	1063	The rise of the first or Vandalic horn of the Roman beast. Dan. vii. 7. Rev. xiii. 1. xvii. 3, 12. The commencement of the junction of the iron-clay feet and ten toes of the image to its iron legs. Dan. ii. 33, 41—43.
407	1064	The rise of the second or Suevic horn, of the third or Alanic horn, of the fourth or Burgundian horn, and of the fifth or Francic horn, of the Roman beast.
408	1065	The rise of the sixth or Visigothic horn of the Roman beast.
439	1096	The sounding of the second apocalyptic trumpet. Rev. viii. 8, 9.
449	1106	The rise of the seventh or Anglo-Saxon horn of the Roman beast.
462	1119	The sounding of the third apocalyptic trumpet. Rev. viii. 10, 11.

A.P.C.	A.E.I.	
476	1133	The rise of the eighth or Herulic horn of the Roman beast: by which the Roman Emperorship is for a season extinguished in the West, though it continues in the East.
493	1150	The rise of the ninth or Ostrogothic horn of the Roman beast. The eradication of the Herulic horn or the first of the three horns which stood before the little Papal horn. Dan. vii. 8, 24.
553	1210	The eradication of the Ostrogothic horn or the second of the three horns which stood before the little Papal horn. Dan. vii. 8, 24.
568	1225	The rise of the tenth or Lombardic horn of the Roman beast.
603	1260	The sounding of the fourth apocalyptic trumpet, and the commencement of the great political eclipse of the Eastern Empire. Rev. viii. 12.
604	1261	The bisection of the sacred calendar or the seven prophetic times: the expiration of the former three times and a half: and the commencement of the latter three times and a half or the 1260 prophetic days. Dan. vii. 25. Rev. xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14. xiii. 5. The sounding of the fifth apocalyptic trumpet or the first woe-trumpet. Rev. ix. 1—11. The great ecclesiastical star of Rome completes its apostasy or fall from heaven. Rev. ix. 1. The mensuration of the temple and the altar and the faithful worshippers. Rev. xi. 1. The giving up of the outer court and the holy city to be trampled under foot by the Gentiles. Rev. xi. 2. The two ecclesiastical witnesses begin to prophesy in sackcloth. Rev. xi. 3. The parturition of the woman: her flight into the wilderness: the abruption of the man-child to the throne of God: and the completed apostasy or fall from heaven of the stars in the western third part of the Roman Empire through the agency of a superstition fostered by the dragon. Rev. xii. 1—6, 14. The ten-horned beast lends himself to be the tool of persecution during the space of 42 prophetic months. Rev. xiii. 1—8. The rise of the second apocalyptic beast or the commencement of the Papal Empire. Rev. xiii. 11. The measured representatives of the 144,000 sealed Israelites occupy the temple on mount Zion. Rev. xiv. 1. compared with xi. 1, and vii. 4. The ten Gothico-Roman horns or kings unanimously give their power and strength to the beast and his harlot-rider. Rev. xvii. 1—3, 12, 13, 17. The saints are delivered into the

A.P.C.	A.E.I.	
		hand of the little Roman horn by the unanimous submission of the ten Gothico-Roman horns or kings, whose dominions jointly constitute the geographical platform of the Papal Ecclesiastical Empire. Dan. vii. 25. The completion of the great démonolatrous Apostasy by the revelation of its lawless head the man of sin, the coercing power of the Roman Empire having been now taken out of the way. Dan. viii. 12, 23. 2 Thess. ii. 3—12. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. The termination of the period described in Dan. xi. 34. The commencement of the period described in Dan. xi. 35. The door of the abyss is figuratively opened by the fallen or apostatic star. Rev. ix. 2.
608	1265	The smoke comes forth from the abyss or the Mohammedan Imposture begins to be propagated.
or	or	
609	1266	Rev. ix. 2. The little horn of the Grecian he-goat or the Mohammedan Ecclesiastical Kingdom of fierce countenance stands up, the apostates having now recently come to the full in the year 604. Dan. viii. 9, 23.
612	1269	The Mohammedan locusts issue forth: and the 5 prophetic months, which are allotted to them for the purpose of tormenting the unscale, commence. Rev. ix. 3, 5.
628	1285	The end of the great eclipse of the Eastern Empire, brought on by the fourth apocalyptic trumpet. Rev. viii. 12.
762	1419	The expiration of the 5 prophetic months allotted to the Mohammedan locusts: and the passing away of the first woe. Rev. ix. 5, 12.
800	1457	The restoration of the Roman Emperorship in the West, that dignity having subsisted exclusively in the East since the year 476 or 479.
1301	1958	The sounding of the sixth apocalyptic trumpet or the second woe-trumpet. Rev. ix. 13. The liberation of the four Turcomannic angels. Rev. ix. 14. The commencement of the prophetic day and month and year or of the $396\frac{1}{4}$ natural years during which the Euphratean horsemen are a woe to the Roman Empire. Rev. ix. 15.
1360	2017	The expiration of Daniel's 1290 prophetic days. Dan. xii. 11.
1453	2110	The Roman Emperorship is extinguished in the East: but it still subsists in the West, having been restored there in the year 800.
1517	2174	The termination of Daniel's 2300 prophetic days; when the sanctuary so long polluted by the Gen-

A.P.C.	A.T.L.	
		tiles of the demonolatrous Apostasy, begins to be cleansed. Dan. viii. 13, 14. Rev. xi. 2. The flesh of the harlot begins to be eaten. Rev. xvii. 16.
1686	2343	In the January of this year, the two ecclesiastical witnesses are slain : and the three prophetic days and a half, during which they lie unburied, commence. Rev. xi. 7—10.
1688	2345	A great earthquake overthrows a tenth part of the Roman ecclesiastical city : or the authority of the Papacy is finally subverted in one of the ten Gothico-Roman kingdoms. Rev. xi. 13.
1689	2346	In the August of this year, the two slaughtered ecclesiastical witnesses revive and stand upon their feet, the three prophetic days and a half having now expired. Rev. xi. 11.
1690	2347	The two witnesses ascend in a cloud to heaven. Rev. xi. 13.
1697	2354	The second woe passes away, having commenced in the year 1301. Rev. xi. 14. The 396½ natural years, or the prophetic ray and month and year, marked out for the continuance of the second woe, expire. Rev. ix. 15. The dragon descends from heaven to earth, and begins to cast a flood from his mouth against the woman. Rev. xii. 9—15. The termination of the period described in Dan. xi. 35. The commencement of the period described in Dan. xi. 36—39.
1789	2446	The sounding of the seventh apocalyptic trumpet or the third woe-trumpet. Rev. xi. 15. The commencement of the figurative judgment of the Roman Empire. Rev. xi. 15—19. Dan. vii. 9, 11, 26. The stone begins to smite the image upon its feet and ten toes. Dan. ii. 34. The flood, which the dragon had cast out of his mouth against the woman, is rapidly rising to its highest pitch. Rev. xii. 15. The spirit of the great Antichrist, who denies the Father and the Son, is diffused far and wide : and constitutes the leading characteristic of the third woe. 1 John iv. 3. ii. 18, 22, 23. 2 Tim. iii. 1—9. 2 Peter ii. iii. 1—6. Jude 4—10. The harlot is made desolate and naked. Rev. xvii. 16.
1792	2449	The pouring out of the first apocalyptic vial. Aug. 26. Rev. xvi. 2. The pouring out of the second apocalyptic vial. Sep. 2. Rev. xvi. 3. The pouring out of the third apocalyptic vial. Nov. 19. Rev. xvi. 4—7.
1804	2461	The pouring out of the fourth apocalyptic vial. Rev. xvi. 8, 9. The rise of the Francic Emperors.

A.P.C.	A.F.L.	
		or the short-lived and sword-slain seventh head of the Roman beast. Rev. xvii. 10. xiii. 3, 14.
1806	2463	The fall of the Roman Imperial Kingship or Roman Emperorship, or the fall of the long-lived first head of the Roman beast; by which fall that head now becomes completely extinct both in the West and in the East. Rev. xvii. 10.
1808	2465	The pouring out of the fifth apocalyptic vial. Rev. xvi. 10, 11. The termination of the period described in Dan. xi. 36—39: and the commencement of the chronological hiatus between Dan. xi. 39 and Dan. xi. 40.
1815	2472	The political slaughter of the Francic Emperorship or the short-lived seventh head of the Roman beast by the sword: and the consequent political death of the Roman beast, all his seven heads now being politically defunct. Rev. xiii. 3, 14. The commencement of the period of the dead Roman beast's political non-existence as an Empire, expressed by the phrase is not. Rev. xvii. 8, 11.
—	—	The pouring out of the sixth apocalyptic vial. Rev. xvi. 12—16.
—	—	The revival of the Francic Emperorship, or the healing of the deadly wound, which had been inflicted by the sword on the short-lived seventh head of the Roman beast. Rev. xiii. 3, 12, 14. The ascent of the lately defunct, but now resuscitated, Roman beast from the abyss or the great sea of political revolution, under his eighth king who is the same as his revived seventh king or head. Rev. xvii. 8, 11. The commencement of the period of the resuscitated Roman beast's political re-existence, expressed by the phrases SHALL ASCEND and YET SHALL BE. Rev. xvii. 8.
—	—	The going forth of the three unclean spirits, at the instigation of the dragon and the false prophet and the now resuscitated Roman beast, to gather together the kings of the Latin earth or ecumenè to the war of that great day of God Almighty. Rev. xvi. 13—16.
1864	2521	The expiration of the seven prophetic times, or the end of the sacred calendar. Dan. iv. 32. The consequent expiration of the latter three times and a half or the 1260 prophetic days allotted to the tyranny of the little Roman horn and his obsequious tool the Roman wild-beast. Dan. vii. 25. Rev. xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14. xiii. 5. The expiration of the times of the Gentiles, or the times of the

A.P.C. A.B.L.

four great gentile Empires as jointly exhibited under the symbol of the metallic image. Luke xxi. 24. Dan. ii. 31—45. The pouring out of the seventh apocalyptic vial. Rev. xvi. 17—21. The commencement of Daniel's time of the end. Dan. vii. 26. viii. 17, 19. xi. 40. xii. 6, 9. The commencement of the period described in Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1. The commencement of the restoration of Daniel's people and the end of their long dispersion. Dan. xii. 1, 6, 7. Luke xxi. 24. The allegorical marriage of the Lamb or the conversion of Judah. Rev. xix. 6—9. Isaiah lx. lxvi. 5—24. Dan. xii. 1, 7. Joel iii. 16—21. Zechar. xii. 10. xiv. 8, 11, 20, 21. Rom. xi. 25, 26.

1865 2522 The expiration of Daniel's time of the end. Dan. vii. 26. viii. 17, 19. xi. 40. xii. 6, 9. The exhaustion of the seventh apocalyptic vial, and the end of the third woe. Rev. xvi. 17—21. The burning of the harlot with fire. Rev. xvii. 16. xviii. 9, 18. The expiration of the period described in Dan. xi. 40—45. xii. 1. The battle of Armageddon. Rev. xix. 11—21. Isaiah lxvi. 15—19, 24. Dan. vii. 11—14, 26, 27. xi. 45. xii. 1. Joel ii. iii. Zechar. xii. xiii. xiv. The figurative coming of the Son of man to destroy the antichristian confederacy. Dan. vii. 13. xii. 1. Joel iii. 16. Isaiah lix. 20. lxiii. 1—6. lxvi. 15, 16. Zechar. xiv. 1—4. Matt. xxiv. 29—31. Mark xiii. 24—27. Luke xxi. 25—27. Rev. xix. 11—16. xx. 4. The destruction of Antichrist and his rebel rout on the mountains of Palestine. Dan. xi. 45. xii. 1. Joel iii. Zechar. xii. xiii. xiv. Rev. xix. 20, 21. The dissipation of the great metallic image. Dan. ii. 35. The Mohammedan little horn is broken without hand. Dan. viii. 25. The commencement of the general conversion of the Gentiles to the faith of Christ, chiefly through the missionary efforts of the converted Jews which are facilitated by the overthrow of the antichristian faction. Isaiah xi. 10—16. lx. 1—14. lxvi. 18—24. Hos. ii. 23. Zechar. viii. 20—23. xiv. 16—21. Rom. xi. 11—16. The stone, which smote the image upon its feet, expands itself until it becomes a great mountain and fills the whole earth. Dan. ii. 35, 44. The figurative resurrection of the saints, and their mil-

A.P.C.	A.E.I.	
		lennian reign with Christ under the whole heaven. Rev. xx. 4, 6. Dan. vii. 13, 14, 27. • The allegorical binding of the dragon. Rev. xx. 1, 2. The commencement of Daniel's 1335 prophetic days. Dan. xii. 12. The commencement of St. John's 1000 years. Rev. xx. 2, 3.
2865	3522	The termination of St. John's 1000 years. Rev. xx. 7. • The second figurative resurrection of the rest of the dead. Rev. xx. 5. The allegorical liberation of the dragon. Rev. xx. 7. The nations in the four quarters of the earth, out of which the second antichristian confederacy of Gog and Magog is at length formed, begin, through the deceitfulness of Satan, gradually to degenerate. Rev. xx. 8. The commencement of the supplemental 335 prophetic days, which constitute the last portion of Daniel's 1335 prophetic days. Dan. xii. 12.
3200	3857	The termination of Daniel's 1335 prophetic days and consequently of their supplemental portion of 335 prophetic days. Dan. xii. 12. The attack made by the now completed confederacy of Gog and Magog, upon the holy city: and their miraculous destruction by fire from heaven. Rev. xxi. 9. Ezek. xxxviii. xxxix.
		The consummation of all things: the second advent of Christ: the literal resurrection: the literal day of universal judgment. Rev. xx. 11—15. Matt. xxv. 31—46. Acts iii. 19—21. 1 Corinth. xv. 23—28, 51—57. 1 Thess. iv. 13—18. Heb. ix. 27, 28.
		OF THAT DAY AND HOUR KNOWETH NO ONE, NO NOT THE ANGELS OF HEAVEN, BUT MY FATHER ONLY. Matt. xxiv. 36.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 32, line 20. For *Reinarius*, read *Reinerius*.

40, -- 11 note. For *Italium*, read *Italiam*.

52, -- 10 note. Erase the comma after *bound*.

52, -- 12 note. Erase the comma after *innocent*.

56, -- 4 note. For *atempore*, read *a tempore*.

103, -- 10, 11, 12. Erase the words, *according to the other prediction, they cease to be a woe to the Roman Empire very shortly after the year 1690.*

107, -- 2. For *parturiant*, read *parturient*.

119, -- 4. For *political*, read *politied*.

240, -- 19. For *obscure*, read *obscene*.

345, -- 16. For the semicolon after *it*, supply a comma.

369, -- 10. For *shall*, read *shalt*.

446, -- 15. For *annihilated*, read *annihilated*.

